MASSACHUSETTS UNITARIANISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE:

A Religious Social System in Transition, 1780-1870

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Perhaps the oldest and still most charming acknowledgment is to be found in the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius. Setting out to do a dissertation I was unaware of the many people to whom I would become indebted. The many acknowledgments I had read at the beginnings of volumes had seemed to me only a formality. I know better now, and I am impressed how much we are dependent upon one another even writing history.

I originally developed a research interest in Massachusetts Unitarianism nearly eight years ago in a seminar led by Dr. Charles Foster, Professor of English. My interest led me beyond the usual confines of New England intellectual history into the areas of sociology dealing with social and cultural change, and I wrote a paper on this topic for Dr. Arnold Rose, Professor of Sociology, which was later published in the Sociological Quarterly. With Dr. Rodney Loehr, Professor of History, and Dr. Timothy Smith, also Professor of History, I examined the economic history of New England, and the social background of the New England

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS....................................iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS viii

LIST OF TABLES...................................... x

LIST OF MAPS xii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xiii

PART I. A STILL LIFE

INTRODUCTION 2

Chapter

I. FROM THEOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS TO SPECIFIC SOCIAL SYSTEMS: A MATTER OF CHOICE 12

II. THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF GOD: THE CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL SYSTEM IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY MASSACHUSETTS.................................. 35

PART II. CHANGING CHANGES

III. A QUESTION OF NUMBERS 67

IV. THE EFFECT OF THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM ON THE RELIGIOUS SOCIAL SYSTEM..90

V. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AS A CHANGING FACTOR IN UNITARIANISM.............................. 114

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

VI. AMBIGUOUS IMAGES: THE CITY AND THE FACTORY IN UNITARIAN THOUGHT 150

VII. SECULARIZATION OF THE STATE: A COVEVANT FINALLY DISOWNED AND THE PAINFUL ADJUSTMENT................................ 163

PART III. ON BECOMING A DEPENDENT VARIABLE

VIII. SOCIAL REFORM AND SOCIAL WELFARE: A DISTINCTION FOR DISTINCTION'S SAKE 204

IX. NEW MASKS FOR OLD PREACHERS 228

X. SOME SOCIOLOGICAL THINKING ABOUT THEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CHANGE: THE TABLES TURNED 279

PART IV. GESTALT

XI. RECKONING SHAPES OF TIME: FROM AN OLDER SHADOW OF THE PAST TO A NEWER SHADOW 311

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1. Towns Outside of Boston In Massachusetts with Population of over 9,000 in 1870 Including those Created after 1800 26

2. Population Increase by Decades 68

3. Number of Unitarian Parishes in Massachusetts 71

4. Unitarian Parishes (Outside Boston) By Size of Town in 1870 72

5. Unitarian Parishes (Outside Boston) By Rate of Town Increase 1800-1870 72

6 thru 11 - Town Population and Parish Membership by Decades 74

12. New Church Membership, Waltham, 1810-1839 79

13. New Church Membership, Worcester 1790-1850 80

14. Worcester Tax List for 1802 118

15. Values of Second Parish Wealth in Worcester 119

16. Occupation Distribution By City 125

17. Worcester - 1787 - All Founding Members 126

18. Worcester - 1866 - Random Sample (50 of 103) 127

19. Springfield - 1819 - Random Sample of Founders (40 of 114) 128

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

20. Springfield - 1886 - Random Sample (40 of 214) 129

21. Fall River - 1832 - Random Sample of Founders (16 of 65) 129

22. Fall River - 1858 - Entire Membership 130

23. Fitchburg - 1837 - All Pew Owners 130

24. Waltham - 1839 - Random Sample of Pew Owners (19 of 104) 131

25. Worcester Unity Church - 1846 - All Founding Members 132

26. Summary of all Occupational Categories - All Dates 133

27. Specific Occupations Compared - 1870 - Worcester, Springfield, Fall River 134

28. Ministries at Large By Date of Founding 211

LIST OF MAPS

MAP Page

GROUP I - POPULATION GROWTH OF MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS AND LOCATION OF UNITARIAN PARISHES

1. Eastern Massachusetts 28
2. The Connecticut Valley and the Berkshires 29
3. The Old Colony, Cape Cod, and Bristol 30

GROUP II - THE LOCATION OF UNITARIAN PARISHES AND YEAR OF FOUNDING

4. Eastern Massachusetts 84
5. The Connecticut Valley and the Berkshires 85
6. The Old Colony, Cape Cod, and Bristol 86

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure Page

1. The Relation Between Individual and Group 6
2. The Church and Parish as Social Systems in 1780. 46

PART I

A STILL LIFE

INTRODUCTION

A MATTER OF DEFINITION

The growth of American Studies programs on campuses in Europe and the United States during recent decades has symbolized the increasing boundary maintenance problems of disciplines in both the social sciences and humanities. The monograph which follows is frankly intended to confound the boundary makers still further. It combines a serious concern with sociological theory and method with an equally serious concern with American church history. Perhaps it might appropriately be labelled "historical sociology of religion." Insofar as it is especially preoccupied with religion in the American context and the mutual interpenetration of religion, culture and society in this country, it is a conventional American Studies document.

Sociological concepts, despite their sometimes barbaric appearance, often possess an analytic power and cogency which pure historical narrative cannot approach. For this reason this study is built upon a theoretical foundation which I feel is very important. While I have tried to keep the jargon to a minimum, rather like the dentist hiding the pliers behind his back as he comforts his patient, there have been times when its use has been necessary. Terms have also been used frequently which have a special historical meaning in the context of eighteenth or nineteenth century Massachusetts. The purpose of this introduction is to prepare the reader on both counts.

This is a study of the effect of social change on Unitarianism in Massachusetts between 1780 and 1870. That is an obvious statement, and yet when one begins to do research, it becomes rather elusive. What was Unitarianism? Was it a theological doctrine? Was it a denomination? Social change presumably had an effect on something or someone, but do we mean only particular persons, famous ones, for instance, such as William Ellery Channing, or average ones, like..., well, how do you calculate an average Unitarian? And what is social change? I have specified urbanization and industrialization, but those are rather amorphous factors.

Because of this elusiveness of subject the concept of social system has been very helpful.[1] By social system I mean the sum of behaviors performed by two or more people intent upon accomplishing a desired goal. To accomplish a goal the people must work together. By design or custom the action of one person must fit in with and complement the action of the rest of the group. Since such action is performed in concert with other people, and according to more or less mutual understandings, it is called social action. A social system consists of the social action performed to realize a certain goal.

A service of public worship is illustrative of part of the social system of the parish. Both the congregation and the minister arrive at an expected time. The minister goes through certain conventional actions which he expects of himself, and his congregation expects of him. The congregation also performs according to mutually held expectations. They enter, stand, are silent and listen, sing and perhaps read at certain times. A member of the congregation who stood up and sang "Sweet Adeline" in the middle of the prayer would probably be quickly removed. So would a person who poured potato chips into the collection plate. The minister might not hold his job very long if he substituted a dry martini for the communion wine. The behaviors which congregation and minister perform are calculated to achieve a certain goal--congregational worship of a God whose rules and sanctions are familiar to the congregation and form the basis of their behavior. Surrounding the religious behavior which constitutes the social system are religious beliefs which constitute the religious culture system.

Since I am primarily interested in social change, I will focus on changes in the behaviors which constitute the religious social system. Having first found out what the conventional behaviors were during the period 1780-1800, in Part I of this monograph I sketch a model of the religious social system in that period. In Part II, I then examine those factors which effected the religious social system as it was in 1800 and which forced it to change during the next seventy years. I also outline how the original system gradually changed in response to these external factors and, in effect, became quite a different system. The new system is sketched as it existed in 1870 in the final chapter. In Part III certain especially vital aspects of change are treated.

One of these is the change in the minister's role, and another is the place of theology in the process of change.

There are certain other terms which I use from time to time. One of these is role. I have said that a social system is social action performed to realize a certain goal. Usually there is a division of labor in such social action. Participants learn what their part in this division of labor is. A role is that behavior expected of a person as part of a particular social system. His personal role is what he expects of himself, while his social role is what others expect of him. Where social systems are stable there is substantial coincidence between personal and social role expectations. When a system begins to change there is often lack of coincidence, and therefore conflict. It is from this point of view that I have analyzed the role of the minister.[2]

All important social systems are expressions of, or are expressed by culture systems. Culture systems are clusters of ideas, sometimes but by no means always logically connected, which both motivate and rationalize social action. A culture system includes assumptions concerning fact, value and possibility, or, what is true, and what ought to be. Most religious culture systems include beliefs about some ultimate reality, the meaning of death and suffering, and the behavior required of those who wish to live harmoniously with this ultimate reality. The culture system of a religious social system is especially important, because the goals of the religious social system are essentially unworldly.

The validity of these goals cannot be checked by reference to the physical environment, and they therefore depend for their confirmation to a very substantial extent on mutual reinforcement by members of the group.

Occasionally I shall refer to *procedural* or *maintenance conditions*. I mean by these terms those conditions which a group must meet in order to realize its goal(s). A religious group, for instance, must have members, financial resources, a reservoir of member replacements, physical facilities, leaders, and so forth. Its members must also work together at least to a certain extent. A social system must adapt itself to new circumstances if it is to realize its goal successfully. Sometimes goal-realization becomes impossible. Then the system either dies or the goal is redefined.

The following diagram will illustrate the interconnection of the terms I am using.

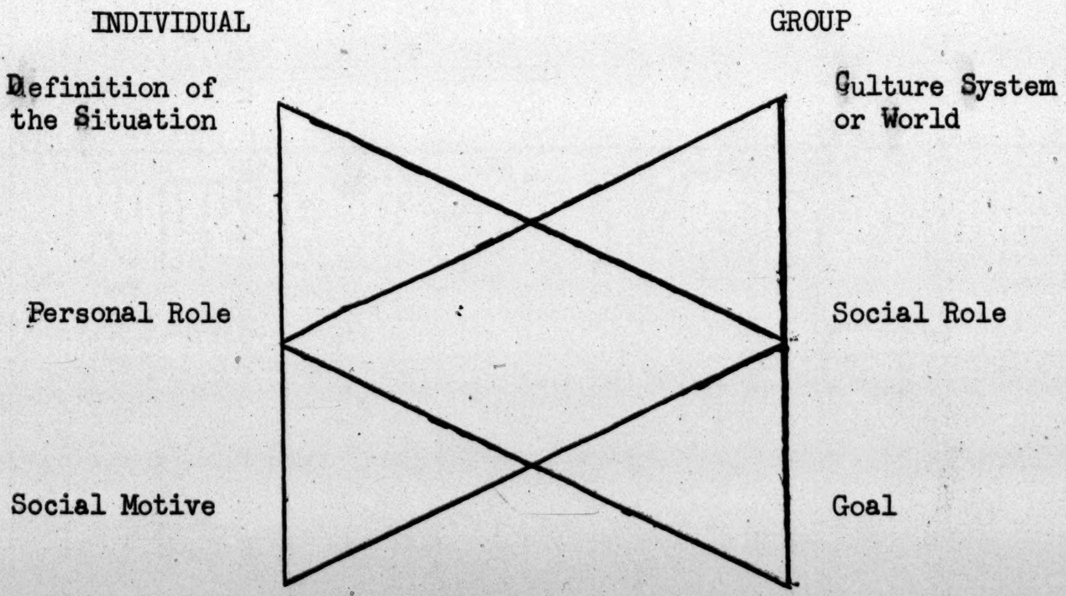

INDIVIDUAL
GROUP
Definition of the Situation
Culture System or World
Personal Role
Social Role
Social Motive
Goal

Fig. 1. — The relation between individual and group

Each social system has a goal. Each individual who has a role in the social system possesses a motive to realize all or part of the goal of the system. The individual's objective within a particular social system I call his social motive. Since each individual is part of several social systems, he possesses several social motives which may potentially be ranked in a hierarchy of importance. When we say that religion is important in a particular society we mean not only that religious institutions or social systems are important, but that the religious social motive is high among a large number of the members of the group. It takes precedence over other social motives. One cause of social change is change in the hierarchy of social motives.

Every civilization, and the many social systems within a civilization have clusters of ideas associated with them which we have called culture systems or culture worlds. An individual shares and believes some of these ideas but not others. He shares certain expectations of behavior with others in his group, but probably there is never an exactly identical expectation between any two individuals. An individual's particular interpretation of the culture system he shares I have called his definition of the situation. Sometimes I have also used the concept to refer to the interpretation of the culture world shared by a sub-group such as a status group.

Using these terms it is possible to develop a theory of social or behavioral change. Social change takes place constantly.

I am not concerned with why a change takes place, but how. My viewpoint is Heraclitian, for like the Greek philosopher I believe you never step into the same river twice. The processes involved may be either social or cultural or both. A social system may change in response to changes outside itself. Thus, as I will show in chapter 7, the religious social system was forced to change in order to maintain its membership and financing. On the other hand it may change because the particular social motive involved becomes higher or lower in the hierarchy of social motives of most members of the group. This also happened during the period we are studying. Or it may change because of primarily cultural factors. Beliefs may change, either modifying or making unnecessary certain practices. Occasional propitiation of a loving Father may be necessary, but not nearly as necessary as of a God of terrible wrath and anger. Biblical criticism may undermine certain texts which were previously used to sanction particular practices. The goals of a group may gradually or suddenly change, either in nature or importance, necessarily involving change in the social system. This is especially true of social systems created and constantly modified by legislative action, or especially dependent on ideas which are not capable of empirical verification.

Finally I would like to indicate the meaning of certain historical terms. The first of these is town. In the context of Massachusetts, town refers to a politico-geographical area. It is not the same as a village and does not imply any particular density of population. Within each town the inhabitants elected town officers and annually considered town business. Until 1834 in its parochial capacity the town was required to hire a minister, tax its inhabitants for his support and build a church. Sometimes the town acting in its parochial capacity was called a parish or precinct. The parish or precinct was that organized group of persons who conducted the business affairs of the religious social system. In the later nineteenth century the term society was also used to mean the same thing, except that by that time specific geographical boundaries were not so important. Parishes or precincts had explicit geographical boundaries. Societies conducted the business affairs of the voluntary religious social system, but geographical boundaries were unimportant to them, since their taxing power was not based on geographical residence. When I use the word church I mean it in one of only two senses: Sometimes I refer to the building in which worship took place, though in New England this was customarily called the meeting house. Usually I mean that group of people within each parish who were witnessing Christians. All the inhabitants of the parish attended public worship, but only church members could remain afterwards and receive communion. The role of the church was entirely spiritual and only the converted could become members. Temporal matters were the province of the parish, precinct or society. Only about one-fifth of the congregation were usually church members. This distinction between parish and church is not commonly understood today, since it is contrary to present usage. It is a distinction necessary for the understanding of New England church history.

Now with this minimum of terminological baggage, let us proceed!

Footnotes-Introduction

[1] I am obviously indebted to the so-called structural-functionalists for the concept. See especially Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Free Press Paperback Edition; New York, 1964); Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Mass., 1951); George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York, 1950); Max Black, ed., The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1961). While I accept the concept of social system and the usefulness of certain other ideas, I do not accept either the necessity of the functions or the equilibrium-disequilibrium assumptions. I am a structuralist, but not an orthodox functionalist for reasons that may be evident towards the end of this monograph. While I wish to keep theoretical arguments at a minimum, I would like to add that, especially in the area of religion, functionalism seems to me to have many mortal inadequacies. While it is a useful framework for writing a book, it tends to explain away religion rather than really come to grips with it. A useful critical contribution to the debate is Allan W. Eister, "Religious Institutions in Complex Societies: Difficulties in the Theoretic Specification of Functions," American Sociological Review, XXII (August, 1957), pp. 387-391.

[2] See my "A Review of Sociological Understanding of Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America and England," The Sociological Quarterly IV, (Winter, 1962), pp. 49-58, where I summarize the use of role theory in the study of historical social change.

CHAPTER I

FROM THEOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS TO SPECIFIC SOCIAL SYSTEMS: A MATTER OF CHOICE

"It was as much a state of mind and frontage of faith as an articulate creed." Thus do Gaius Glenn Atkins and Frederick L. Fagley describe eighteenth century Arminianism.[1] Actually the movement began in America at the time of the Great Awakening. As the revivals spread across New England a group of clergymen in eastern Massachusetts, especially in Boston, asserted their opposition to such unusual "means". From this disagreement two parties emerged, one led by Jonathan Edwards, the other by the minister of First Church, Boston, Charles Chauncy. As the eighteenth century progressed, both parties developed within the context of the establishment distinct and contradictory theological systems.

The Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards was more truly Calvinistic than the theology of the early Puritans.[2] It emphasized the absolute sovereignty of God, and the powerlessness and dependence of man. As eventually stated by one of Edwards's greatest students, Dr. Samuel Hopkins, man must be willing to be damned "for the glory of God", if he is truly saved. The "New Divinity" men emphasized the traditional five points of Calvinism: Predestination, Limited Atonement, Total Depravity, Irresistibility of Grace, and the Perseverance of the

Saints. For the most part the covenant theology of the Puritans was forgotten. While such a theology might seem inconsistent with revivalism, since presumably salvation was entirely in the hands of God, a place was made for "means" insofar as this prepared the sinner to receive God's grace.

Yet the sovereignty of God and the dependence of man was not adequate for all New Englanders in the eighteenth century. "The new standards of justice and equity made it impossible to accept the facts of life as revelation of the will of God. It was no longer possible to accept events as divine decrees unless they measured up to the ethical principles which had come to constitute the standards of righteous human intercourse, . . . Sovereignty became permissible only when it was used for the comfort and the happiness of those on whom it was exercised."[3] American theological and political thought of the time had many things in common.

The Arminians developed a characteristic point of view in opposition to Calvinistic assertion. Basic to their theological approach was the literal use of the Bible and of human reason as criteria to judge doctrine. They tended to emphasize that many traditional Christian doctrines are either not mentioned, or else played an unimportant or ambiguous part in the scriptures. They rejected those doctrines which were either not self-evident in scripture or by natural reason. In the sixty years following the Great Awakening they rejected the imputation of Adam's sin to all men, asserted the freedom of the will and declared that man was saved largely by his own effort, at least in the sense that through his own effort, and especially through righteousness he satisfied the conditions set by God for salvation. "Implicit in the Arminian scheme was the principle that a man's salvation is within his own control, because it depends on the use he makes of his opportunities. No one can be saved, however regular his attendance at meeting and communion, unless he sincerely tries to obey God's moral commandments." Much of the Arminian argument was based, often implicitly, on a different conception of God from that of the Edwardians. Chauncy and others believed that God must ultimately be moral as human beings understand morality, and therefore concerned with the happiness of his creatures. "God's works reveal his benevolence in two ways. In the first place, inanimate nature is so ordered and arranged as to serve the needs of the men who inhabit it; and in the second place, animate creatures are endowed by nature with powers and abilities qualifying them for happiness."[4] The values emphasized by the Arminians appealed to the upwardly mobile and to those with a favorable self-image.[5] Free will, moral responsibility, striving and discipline were emphasized. God was painted as a benevolent Father, interested in the virtue and happiness of his children. By the beginning of the nineteenth century virtually all the ministers and churches in the Boston area were Arminian in orientation. In addition, by this time, certain of the clergy had come to accept a Unitarian point of view, that is, a denial of the Trinity or the belief that Christ is God, and had come to believe in Universal Salvation, the belief that ultimately all men will be saved. By implication, of course, Unitarianism threatened the whole Calvinistic scheme of salvation.

The traditional interpretation of the Unitarian controversy has been developed from either a Unitarian or Trinitarian advocate's point of view. Yet all sides seem to agree that the controversy first developed around certain practices. The first was the calling of a minister. Both church and parish were involved in choosing a minister. By custom the church chose a man, and the parish confirmed its choice. Beginning in the 1780's, church-parish controversies over new ministers became common. In virtually all cases the parish wished a liberal minister while the church wished a conservative minister. As one party or the other won it became possible to locate that parish in one of the theological camps. In many cases the conflict developed at the end of a long pastorate, often of a moderate or relatively moderate Old Calvinist. The younger generation tended to be located on either theological extreme, so that the parish had a clear choice of one party or the other, rather than of a moderate of the old school.

Secondly, New Divinity and evangelical Christian ministers usually refused to exchange pulpits with Arminian clergymen. Since the normal expectation of the parishioner was that a minister would be settled for life, he understandably did not look forward to a lifetime of sermons from a theological point of view other than his own. Pulpit exchanges had traditionally allowed other points of view to be heard representing the various theological positions within the parish. One of the most common questions asked of a candidate for a pulpit was whether he would exchange pulpits with ministers of a different theological party. Conflicts developed over candidates who would refuse to exchange or ministers who instituted a narrower policy of exchange. We shall have opportunity to witness in our study of specific systems examples of both instances.

Since none of the theological parties within the establishment was formally institutionalized as such, the controversy was diffuse, occuring in a large number of individual parishes, and symbolized in events which served the propaganda interests of each party. In 1805 a new professor of divinity was to be appointed at Harvard. Since he would educate many classes of clergymen for the establishment, his theological orientation was obviously important. The appointment of Henry Ware to that position emphasized the threat posed by the liberals, and signified their consolidated control over the University. As Jedidiah Morse, leader of the evangelical Christian party wrote to a friend: "I fear and deprecate a revolution in our university more than a political revolution"[6] In 1808 the orthodox established Andover Seminary to train their ministry, the faculty of which for the next seventy years was required to subscribe to an elaborate and detailed Calvinistic statement of faith.[7]

The Unitarian controversy extended over a period of nearly half a century. It has been extensively reviewed elsewhere.[8] While few clergymen at the turn of the century accepted the label of Unitarian, by the time of Channing's Baltimore sermon in 1819 the acceptance of Unitarian as well as Arminian views in a significant portion of the clergy was evident. In 1825 the American Unitarian Association was founded, composed of clergymen and laymen who advocated sectarian Unitarian views. While parishes or churches were not members of the association as such, membership of a clergyman in the association informally signified his church's sympathy with the Unitarian position. The founding of the American Unitarian Association, together with a series of church-parish separations, in which groups of orthodox or Unitarian congregationalists formally separated from the local established parish and church to found their own parish and church marked the division of congregationalism into two largely separate denominations. Of the approximately three hundred congregational churches in the state, about one-third became Unitarian, including all but one in Boston.[9]

Hitherto virtually all studies of Unitarianism have concentrated upon Boston Unitarianism. In large measure this has been both because Boston and Harvard furnished the intellectual leaders of the movement, and because for half a century or more virtually the entire leadership of the city and in many ways of Massachusetts itself was in the hands of Boston business and professional men who were Unitarian, at least in name. Not only were many of those prominent in the New England Renaissance Unitarians, or of Unitarian families, thus forming the nucleus of those who made the first great contribution to American arts and letters, but Unitarians dominated industry and politics. John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Edward Everett, Daniel Webster, Nathan Appleton, Francis Cabot Lowell, George Bancroft, George Ticknor, are but a few famous names among many. Boston Unitarianism and its contribution to American industry, politics, philanthropy, arts and letters has been extensively documented.[10]

Yet curiously it is common knowledge that Boston Unitarianism was not, in a sense, characteristic of denominational Unitarianism. Many Boston Unitarians, clergy and laymen alike, took little interest in the Unitarian movement. Until the 1860's, if so early, they refused to be labelled as Unitarians, preferring to be known as liberal Christians and non-sectarians. As one who was intimately acquainted with them writes: "...I am a little impatient that they should even be judged by their theology, which was so small a fraction of either their religion or their life..."[11] Of his father, Nathaniel Frothingham, O. B. Frothingham writes:

> Of interest in the denomination, the sect, the party name, he was absolutely devoid. He never attended the conventions or conferences of the Unitarian body or spoke in their deliberations. On anniversary week it was for many years his custom to visit New York, where no professional responsibility rested upon him, and where he could find recreations of a purely social kind.[12]

Henry Ward Bellows could attack Boston Unitarians viciously in the 1850's for their lack of interest in the movement.

> Unitarianism, which was by its very essence a protest against the errors of popular theology, logically demanding and authorizing a missionary crusade...never found any considerable body of people in Boston willing to back it with money and influence, or disposed to push it forward with resolute earnestness of conviction; and so, from an early

> period, it sunk into a local peculiarity of opinion almost without a name. For the weight of Boston, its judiciary, lawyers, and leading merchants, its literary and social powers, never willingly or heartily adopted the name or style of Unitarianism; discouraged its distinct organization, and thought it wisest to wait on the slow and indirect influences of general education, or the diffusion of a modified religious literature, to correct the theological errors of Christendom. The American Unitarian Association, which represents the theological office and duty of our denomination, is no where in so little esteem as among the most influential men in Boston, from whose respect and support alone its sinew could be derived. Its missionary operations are too inconsiderable to be named, and its highest policy seems to be to discover some-- thing to do, towards which the hearts of the rich men will in the least incline.[13]

In view of the virtually unique nature of Boston Unitarianism, I have chosen to concentrate in this monograph on Unitarianism outside of Boston, which, in terms of numbers of churches and communicants comprised the greatest part of the Unitarian movement. Since, until 1834, the status of the parish in Boston differed from the status of the parish throughout the rest of Massachusetts, and since it is upon the parish-church social system that we are studying the effect of social and cultural change, it has seemed best to omit consideration of the religious social system in Boston, except as a matter of background.

There are other positive reasons for considering parishes outside of Boston. Firstly, these existed in a relatively simpler setting than those in Boston. The homogeneity and size of the communities, and the ease in isolating variables connected with change are important. Secondly, the first explicitly Arminian parish was founded, not in Boston, but in Worcester, Massachusetts. In many ways inhabitants outside of Boston were more willing to advocate and be associated with an explicitly Arminian, and later Unitarian movement, and to give active support to the movement. Thirdly, since both orthodox and heterodox parishes existed within the same establishment, this study, by concentrating on parishes outside of Boston may have relevance to the whole Congregational movement in the state, insofar as the social systems of both were similar. Fourthly, Boston was not only unique in its ethos, but also in its nature as a city. It was primarily a commercial, financial and trading center, rather than an industrial city. Since we are explicitly concerned with industrialization as well as urbanization this factor is important. Industrialism was a more directly important factor in other Massachusetts cities.

The method of sample selection utilized the following criteria: Firstly, a list was prepared of all townships in Massachusetts recorded in the census of 1870. Then, using the Unitarian yearbook for 1870, churches which the Association listed as contributing or associated have been located in these townships. Thus, for purposes of this study, Unitarian initially means contributing to the American Unitarian Association in 1870. This is an operational definition which avoids many of the ambiguities of theology. Every one of these churches has then been investigated in the historical records of the American Unitarian Association to determine when that church became Unitarian, and what the circumstances of its becoming Unitarian were. The organizational circumstances were many and complex. Some churches, such as the one in Plymouth, originally founded by the Pilgrims in 1620, called a Unitarian minister as early as 1800, and the orthodox members of the parish left to found a new one.[14] Other Unitarian parishes and churches were founded as Unitarians left parishes where the majority was orthodox. It is evident that the context of these parishes as social systems has differed very significantly, and that the important characteristics of these contexts should be represented. The three most common contexts will be exemplified here: (1) Parishes which were founded as orthodox Puritan "First" parishes, and later became Unitarian, with orthodox minorities breaking away to establish Trinitarian or Calvinistic churches; (2) Unitarian "Second" parishes, which were made up of Arminians or Unitarians who broke with the orthodox majorities in established parishes which remained orthodox, and founded parishes which continued to operate within the establishment using powers of taxation and government under Massachusetts law; (3) Societies or churches which were founded by Unitarians about the time of the separation of church and state in Massachusetts, and which were from the beginning entirely voluntary associations. Those belonging to the first category are the parishes in Waltham and in Fitchburg; to the second, those in Worcester, Springfield, and Waltham (1820); and to the third, those in Fall River, Lowell, and Worcester (1846). Parishes have been chosen which existed for a significant time during the period under study.

Since this study concerns itself with not only the parishes and churches themselves, but with the effect of cultural and social change on them, some criterion was needed to choose parishes in situations of change. A simple criterion was adopted. The population of every town in Massachusetts in 1800 and in 1870 was secured from the censuses of 1800 and 1870. It was assumed that a high ratio of population increase, together with a large absolute population would constitute a good index of urbanism, and by implication of probable industrialization and social change. By multiplying ratio times absolute size both factors would be included. Thus churches were chosen for study which (1) were Unitarian in 1870 and throughout most of the period; (2) exemplified the characteristics of the possible situations in which Unitarian churches as social systems would find themselves during the period (First parishes, Second parishes, or voluntary associations); (3) were in locations with a rapid rate of population increase, and where there were large populations compared with other Massachusetts towns in 1870. Obviously there was no attempt to achieve a random sample of Unitarian parishes, but rather to bias the sample in the direction of rapid urbanization and social change, since that is the variable in which I am primarily interested.

Using these stated criteria, parishes in the following towns were chosen:

Worcester. By all criteria, with the exception of Boston, Worcester was both the largest city in the Commonwealth, and had the highest rate of growth. Between 1800 and 1870 it increased in size some 17 times. Combining ratio and population we also find the highest number, 698,785. In absolute population it was second only to Boston. Comparatively early, in 1785, the first poll parish in Massachusetts was established in Worcester. This parish was the first explicitly Arminian outside of Boston, and perhaps in the state. As a poll parish it existed as part of the establishment, but not as a geographical entity, for any inhabitant of the town of Worcester could elect to become a member of Second Parish, rather than of First Parish. Once he elected membership, he was assessed his parish tax just as he had been in First Parish. The minister, the Reverend Aaron Bancroft, served for more than fifty years, and among many accomplishments, served as first president of the American Unitarian Association. The parish grew out of a disagreement among the inhabitants over theology, since the First Parish increasingly defined itself as New Divinity.[15]

Lowell. When the Boston Associates decided to utilize the water power of the Merrimac River to operate cotton textile mills, they found it necessary to create a new city in the open countryside next to the falls where they built their factories. Lowell was a completely new city, the first industrial city in America. Founded in 1821, by 1870 it was the third largest city in the Commonwealth, with a population of 40,928. The Unitarian Society was founded there in 1830 and was soon one of the most active in the denomination.[16]

Fall River. Fall River, like Lowell, was created out of the countryside in order, at first, to utilize a waterpower resource. In the middle of the century, the textile industry began to switch from water power to steam power and Fall River's location on a fine harbor, close to the coal resources of Pennsylvania, stimulated its growth even further. The Unitarian Society was organized there in 1832. It was served by several ministers, including Samuel Longfellow, brother of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who left an extensive body of correspondence detailing his reaction to, and his church's problems in this raw industrial city. By 1870, Fall River was the eighth largest city in Massachusetts. Except for Lowell and Worcester those cities which were larger tended to be closely associated with the urban complex around Boston, and with Boston Unitarianism.[17]

Springfield. This city was the sixth fastest growing in the Commonwealth, with the third highest combined rate, and was ninth largest in Massachusetts in terms of absolute population size. It was an industrial and commercial center from a very early date because of the location there of the Springfield Armory which, as early as the Revolution, manufactured arms for the United States Government. The church was founded in 1819. Like Worcester, the Springfield First Church went through an orthodox reaction out of which the dissent leading to the founding of the Unitarian church came.[18]

Fitchburg. While Fitchburg is far down the rank from several other cities in terms of rate of growth (8.1), thus being 14th from the top; and in absolute population (11,260), 22nd from the top, it provides a useful example of a First Parish which remained Unitarian in an industrializing context. Parishes in towns higher on the list generally are either seaports with special characteristics, suburbs of Boston, towns where parishes were founded too late in the period, or towns with parishes for which adequate historical records are not available.[19]

Waltham. While small in terms of population, Waltham has a special interest for this study. Located on the Charles River at the site of a small falls, it was chosen by F. C. Lowell and P. T. Jackson as the location for the first textile factory built in this country (1814). The First Parish in Waltham was essentially rural, and was ministered to by Samuel Ripley, Ralph Waldo Emerson's uncle. This town provides the first example of an established church trying to deal with the problem of factory workers in a rapidly changing setting. Since many of the records survive it is an especially instructive instance of the response of Unitarianism to industrialism.[20]

TABLE 1

TOWNS OUTSIDE OF BOSTON IN MASSACHUSETTS WITH POPULATION OF OVER 9,000 IN 1870 INCLUDING THOSE CREATED AFTER 1800

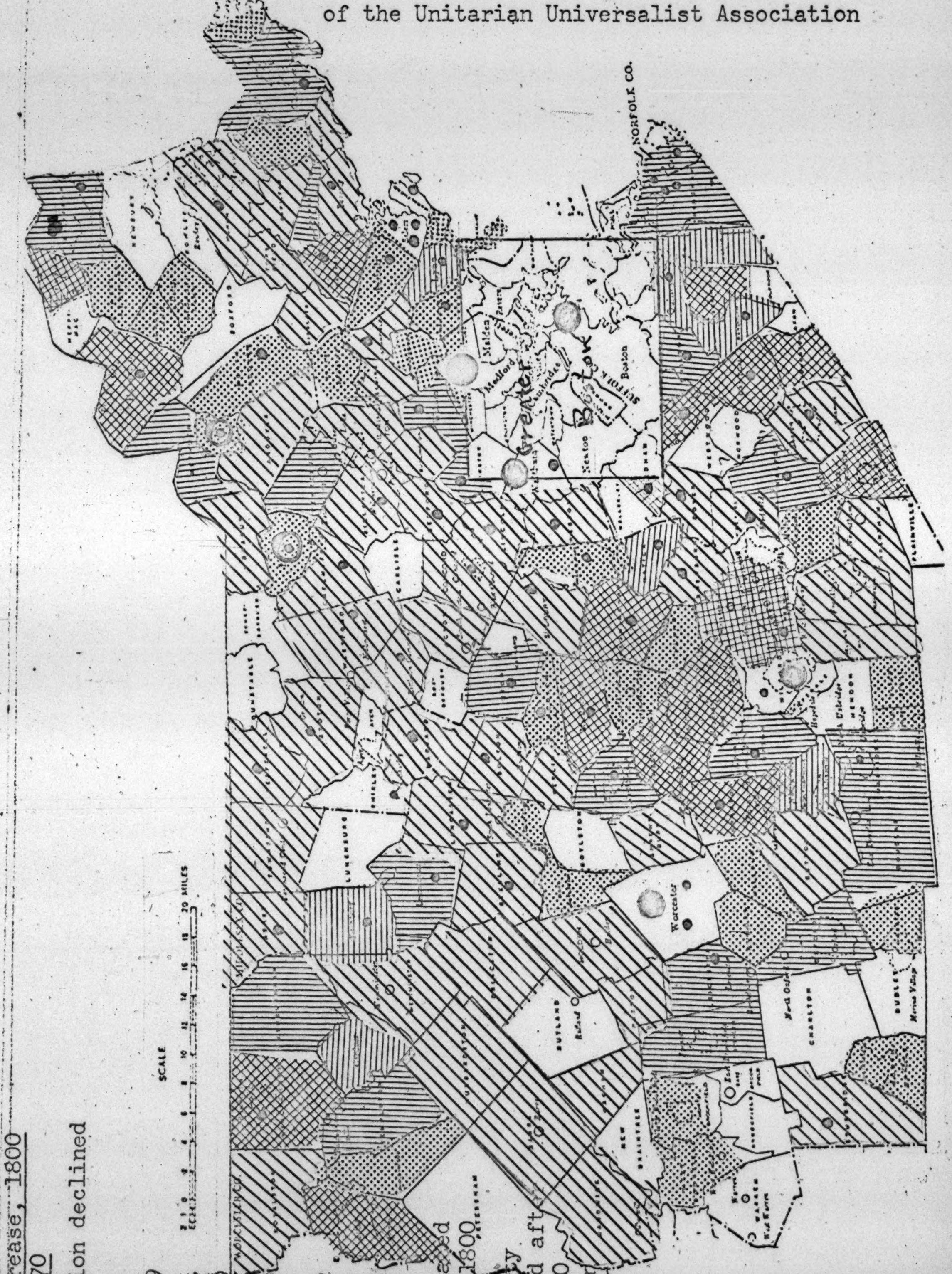
TOWN	POP. 1800	POP. 1870	RATIO	RATIO COMBINED	YEAR CHURCH FOUNDED OR UNITARIAN
Worcester	2411	41,105	17.048	698,785	1785, 1846
Lowell	—	40,928	—	—	1830
Cambridge	2453	39,634	16.16	634,144	1636, 1846, 1829
Lawrence	—	28,921	—	—	1847
Charlestown	2751	28,323	10.30	283,230	1815, 1846
Lynn	2837	28,233	9.95	282,330	1822
Fall River	—	26,766	—	—	1832
Springfield	2312	26,703	11.55	320,436	1819
Roxbury	2765	25,077	9.07	225,693	various
Salem	9457	24,117	2.55	72,351	1629, 1772, 1717, 1824
New Bedford	4361	21,320	4.89	106,600	1795
Taunton	3860	18,629	4.83	93,145	1637
Gloucester	5313	15,389	2.90	46,167	1642
Somerville	—	14,685	—	—	1846

TABLE 1—Continued

TOWN	POP. 1800	POP. 1870	RATIO	RATIO COMBINED	YEAR CHURCH FOUNDED OR UNITARIAN
Haverhill	2730	13,092	4.80	65,460	1645
Danvers	2643	12,943	4.90	64,715	1865
Newton	1491	12,825	8.60	115,425	1848, 1851
Newburyport	5946	12,595	2.12	25,190	1725
Dorchester	2347	12,259	5.22	61,295	1630, 1813, 1848
Adams	1688	12,090	7.16	84,630	—
Fitchburg	1390	11,260	8.10	90,080	1768
Pittsfield	2261	11,112	4.91	55,560	—
Holyoke	—	10,733	—	—	—
Northampton	2190	10,160	4.64	50,800	1825
Melford	907	9,890	10.90	108,790	1864
Chicopee	—	9,607	—	—	1841
Waltham	903	9,065	10.04	90,650	1696, 1820

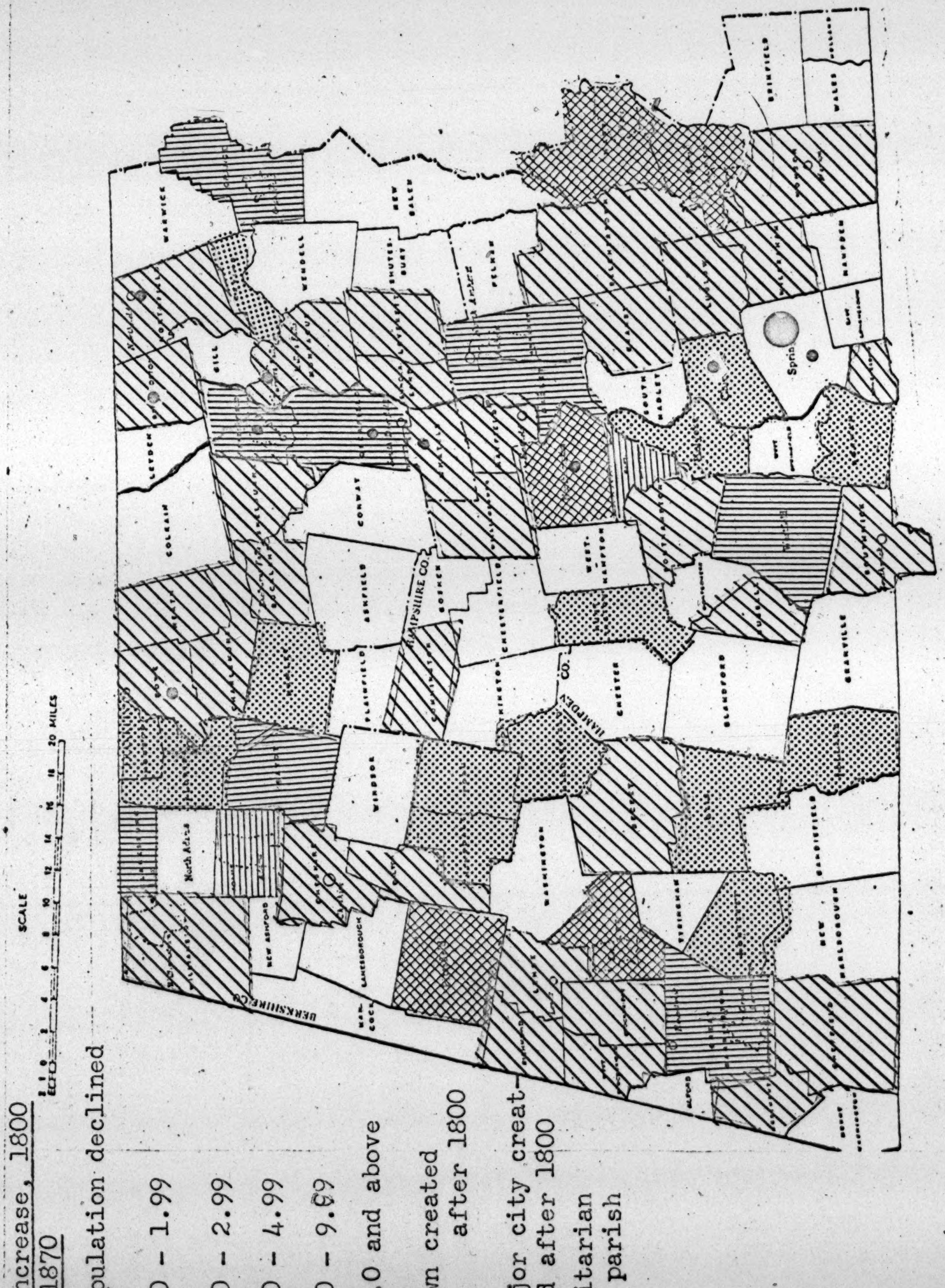
MAP 1.
POPULATION GROWTH OF MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS
~~AND LOCATION OF UNITARIAN PARISHES~~
Eastern Massachusetts

Source: United States Census and the Files
of the Unitarian Universalist Association


Rate of Increase, 1800 to 1870
□ Population declined
▨ 1.0-1.99
▤ 2.0-2.99
▦ 3.0-4.99
▥ 5.0-9.99
● 10.0 and above
▩ Town created after 1800
◎ Major city created aft 1800
• Unitarian parish
SCALE
20 MILES
NORFOLK CO.
SUFFOLK
Greater Boston
Boston
Malden
Medford
Newton
Worcester
RUTLAND
NEW BRAINTREE
CHARLTON
DUDLEY
MENDON

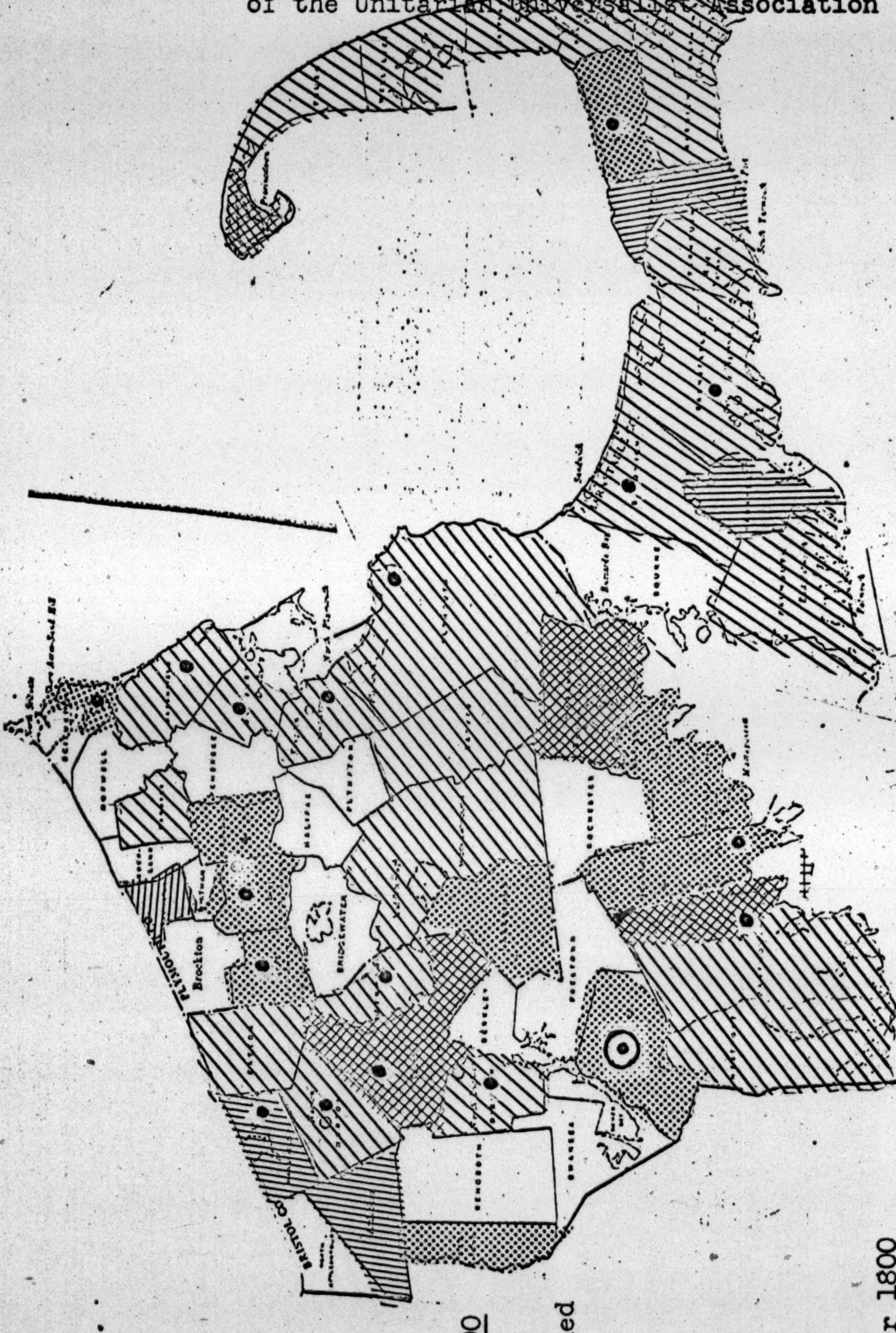
MAP 2.
POPULATION GROWTH OF MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS AND LOCATION OF UNITARIAN PARISHES - The Connecticut Valley and the Berkshires

Source: Unitad States Census and the Files of the Unitarian Universalist Association


Rate of Increase, 1800 to 1870
☐ Population declined
▨ 1.0 - 1.99
▥ 2.0 - 2.99
▦ 3.0 - 4.99
▤ 5.0 - 9.99
● 10.0 and above
Town created after 1800
Major city created after 1800
• Unitarian parish
SCALE
20 MILES
BERKSHIRE CO.
HAMPSHIRE CO.
HAMPDEN CO.
WARWICK
NEW SALEM
COLRAIN
CONWAY
ASHFIELD
WEST-HAMPTON
CHESTER
BLANDFORD
GRANVILLE
North Adams
NEW ASHFORD
WINDSOR
WASHINGTON
Spfd

MAP 3.
POPULATION GROWTH OF MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS AND LOCATION OF UNITARIAN PARISHES - The Old Colony, Cape Cod, and Bristol

Source: United States Census and the Files of the Unitarian Universalist Association



Rate of Increase, 1800 to 1870

- □ Population declined
- ▨ 1.0 - 1.99
- ▤ 2.0 - 2.99
- ▦ 3.0 - 4.99
- ▥ 5.0 -m9.99
- ▩ Town createdvafter 1800
- ◎ Major City Created after 1800
- ● Unitarian parish

CHAPTER I Footnotes

[1] Gaius G. Atkins and Frederick L. Fagley, History of American Congregationalism (Boston, 1942), p. 125.

[2] Perry Miller writes that "Jonathan Edwards was willing ...to call himself a Calvinist...But actually...Edwards was unable —even had he so desired—to retrieve the original positions of John Calvin...Edwards brushed aside the...rusty mechanism of the covenant to forge a fresh statement of the central Protestant definition of man's plight in a universe which God created". (Errand Into the Wilderness [New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964], pp. 49-50.).

[3] Joseph Haroutunian, Piety vs. Moralism (New York, 1932), p. 30.

[4] Conrad Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America (Boston, 1955), pp. 123, 130, 174.

[5] The association of theological points of view with the the value system of the middle class has been extensively discussed among scholars with uncertain results. I will deal with the problem in further detail in Chapter V. Wright has documented aspects of this association in regard to the Arminians in his Chapter xii. It was more or less self-evident at the time to participants. Appropriate documentation may be found et passim in William A. Robinson, Jeffersonian Democracy in New England (New Haven, 1916).

[6] Letter to Joseph Lyman quoted in James King Morse, Jedidiah Morse, A Champion of New England Orthodoxy (New York, 1939), p. 87.

[7] See Daniel Day Williams, The Andover Liberals: A Study in American Theology (New York, 1941), chapter i.

[8] The "Unitarian Controversy" has been outlined by most denominational historians and given at least token recognition in most intellectual and church histories of the United States. See, for instance, the chapter on "The Unitarian Departure" in Atkins and Fagley. See also George Willis Cooke, Unitarianism in America: A History of its Origin and Develópment (Boston, 1902); also Sidney Earl Mead, Nathaniel William Taylor: 1786-1858: A Connecticut Liberal (Chicago, 1942), especially chapter xi, "Connecticut Attacks Unitarianism—1821-1827". Of course James King Morse's biography of Jedidiah Morse deals with it. The controversy is also traced by Frank Hugh Foster in chapter x of A Genetic History of the New England Theology (Chicago, 1907) and in chapter viii of Haroutunian.

CHAPTER I Footnotes--Continued

[9] George Punchard, *History of Congregationalism from about A.D. 250 to the Present Time* (5 Vols.; Boston, 1880), V, p. 643.

[10] Modern students have frequently seen Boston Unitarianism through the eyes of Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Boston Unitarianism, 1820-1850: A Study of the Life and Work of Nathaniel L. Frothingham* (New York, 1890). Many scholars have explicitly or implicitly accepted his prejudices, thinking mistakenly that as the son of a prominent minister he should know. I question whether sons are ever able to judge their fathers, or their fathers' worlds objectively, or whether condescension is a substitute for it. A book, by another son, fully as good, if not so well known, is William C. Gannett, *Ezra Stiles Gannett, Unitarian Minister in Boston, 1824-1871* (Boston, 1875). In my own opinion one of the most insightful interpretations is that of Joseph Henry Allen, *Our Liberal Movement in Theology* (Boston, 1882), which is written from an almost "modern" theological point of view. Contemporary scholars who have attempted to redress the balance of criticism against the Boston Unitarians include William R. Hutchison, *The Transcendentalist Ministers, Church Reform in the New England Renaissance* (New Haven, 1959), especially chapter i. In the first chapter of *Free Religion: An American Faith* (New Haven, 1947), Stow Persons adequately describes "Unitarian Orthodoxy". Seymour Katz, "The Unitarian Ministers of Boston, 1790-1860" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1961), is an interesting study of the relation between Boston Unitarianism and the changing city. Unfortunately it suffers from a lack of perspective. By approaching Boston Unitarianism entirely from the moralistic, social concern point of view of Channing and his followers he fails to acknowledge the limitations under which the ministers labored, and also fails to see the Unitarian failure in the context of the almost universal failure of Protestant churches among the laboring classes, especially in the central city (for that context, see Aaron Ignatius Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900* [Cambridge, Mass., 1943], and Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* [New York, 1949], as well as Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid--19th Century America* [New York, 1957]). There are too many biographies, autobiographies, memoirs and diaries of individual Boston Unitarian laymen to be listed here. A relatively recent study of an active minister, historian and politician is Frank Otto Gatell, *John Gorham Palfrey and the New England Conscience* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963). An old but fascinating study is Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harrison Gray Otis* (2 vols.; Boston, 1913).

[11] Joseph Henry Allen, p. 30.

[12] *Recollections and Impressions, 1882-1890* (New York, 1891), p. 6.

[13] Henry W. Bellows, *Boston Unitarianism* (Boston, 1857) p. 8.

[14] Wright, p. 232.

[15] Detailed documentation of the local history of these towns and parishes will await fuller treatment in later chapters. Here I will note only especially useful general sources published. For Worcester they include: William Lincoln, *History of Worcester, Massachusetts, from its earliest settlement to September, 1836* (Worcester, 1836); Charles Hersey, *History of Worcester, Massachusetts, from 1836 to 1861* (Worcester, 1860); *History of Worcester County, Massachusetts, ...with a History and Description of its Cities and Towns* (2 vols.; Boston, 1879); Samuel S. Green, "Gleanings from the Sources of the History of the Second Parish, Worcester, Massachusetts," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (New Series; Worcester, 1883), II, pp. 301-320; Aaron Bancroft, *A Sermon Delivered in Worcester, January 31, 1836... at the Termination of Fifty Years of His Ministry* (Worcester, 1836); Alonzo Hill, *The Pastor's Record: A Sermon Preached March 28, 1867 before the Second Congregational Society in Worcester on the Fortieth Anniversary of his Settlement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1867); *The Diary of Isaiah Thomas, 1805-1828*, ed. Benjamin T. Hill, *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester, 1909), IX, X; *Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, 1829-1835*, ed. Nathaniel Paine, *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester, 1901), VIII; Elam Smalley, *The Worcester Pulpit: with notices historical and biographical* (Boston, 1851); Hamilton D. Hurd, comp., *History of Worcester County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1889); other references may be found in C. L. Nichols, *Bibliography of Worcester* (Worcester: By the author, 1899); Mrs. Hadley Spear, "Guide to Records and History of the First Unitarian Church. Second Parish in the Town of Worcester," typed, 1950 (in the MSS. Library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts).

[16] Samuel Adams Drake, *History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, containing carefully prepared histories of Every City and Town in the County* (2 vols.; Boston, 1880); Members of the Staff, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, eds., *Lowell: An Early American Industrial Community* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950); *Illustrated History of*

CHAPTER I Footnotes--continued

Lowell and Vicinity, Massachusetts (Lowell, 1897); Nathan Appleton, Introduction of the Power Loom, and Origin of Lowell (Lowell, 1858); Henry A. Miles, Lowell, As It Was, and As It Is (Lowell, 1846); Harriet Robinson, Loom and Spindle, or Life Among the Early Mill Girls (New York, 1898); Hannah Josephson, The Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates (New York, 1949); Caroline F. Ware, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Study in Industrial Beginnings (Boston, 1931); Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the South Congregational Society (Unitarian) in Lowell, Friday, September 26, 1879 (Lowell, 1880).

[17] H. H. Earl, A Centennial History of Fall River, comprising a record of its corporate progress from 1656 to 1876 (New York, 1877); Alice Brayton, Life on the Stream (Newport, R.I., 1962); Ethel K. Fuller, "History of the Unitarian Society in Fall River", mimeographed, Fall River, 1957; Thomas R. Smith, The Cotton Textile Industry of Fall River, Massachusetts, A Study in Industrial Localization (New York, 1944).

[18] Mason A. Green, Springfield, 1636-1886, History of Town and City (Springfield, 1888); Josiah Gilbert Holland, History of Western Massachusetts (2 vols.; Springfield, 1855); Charles A. Humphreys, Memorial of the First Half Century of the Third Congregational Society of Springfield, Mass. (Springfield, 1869); William B. O. Peabody, Familiar Address, delivered at the Social Meeting of the Members of the Liberal Society, on the evening of March 16th, 1843 (Springfield, 1843); Samuel Osgood, A Sermon Delivered in the First Church in Springfield...on the Termination of the Fortieth Year of his Ministry (Springfield, 1849); Richard D. Brown, Urbanization in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1790-1830 (Springfield, 1962).

[19] Hamilton D. Hurd, History of Worcester County; "Centennial of First Parish," Fitchburg Sentinal, June 28, 1937; Rufus C. Torrey, History of the Town of Fitchburg, Massachusetts (Fitchburg, 1865); William A. Emerson, Fitchburg, Past and Present (Fitchburg, 1887).

[20] Edmund L. Sanderson, Waltham as a Precinct of Watertown and as a Town, 1630-1884 (Waltham, 1936); G. A. Stearns, The First Parish in Waltham: An Historical Sketch (Boston, 1914); Edmund L. Sanderson and Elizabeth Castner, "History of the First Parish in Waltham, 1696 to 1957," n.p., n.d., mimeographed; [Samuel Ripley], "A Topographical and Historical Description of Waltham, in the County of Middlesex, Jan. 1, 1815," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (2nd Series; Boston, 1846), III, pp. 261-284; S.A. Drake, History of Middlesex County.

CHAPTER II

THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF GOD: THE CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL SYSTEM IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY MASSACHUSETTS

On September 1, 1779, some 293 delegates from Massachusetts towns met in First Church, Cambridge, to consider a constitution for a newly independent colony. They soon adjourned, leaving the work of preparing a draft to a special committee. Most of the actual work of drafting fell to John Adams. When the draft was reported to the second session, much of the delegates' time was spent in discussion of Article III concerning the establishment of religion. It is significant that while John Adams, who was a decided Arminian, apparently did not write this article, he did approve of it. Its effect was to re-establish the Congregational Church, and to enact a religious social system in most respects like that which had existed since 1691. While Morison is doubtful whether Article III actually received the approval of two-thirds of the voters, it did receive a clear majority. Nevertheless it raised one of the most controversial issues of the constitutional debate.[1]

At this time the question of establishment was not an issue between the theological parties within congregationalism. New Divinity men and Arminians both defended the right of a majority to tax all citizens for the support of religion. Thus, one Arminian declared that the Province "has the same right to provide support of a public ministry, as it has for the support of schools..." Such was also the commonly held opinion during the early national period. Even Aaron Bancroft as late as 1801 could say that "it clearly falls within the province of a christian legislature to support institutions which facilitate the instruction of people in the truths and duties of religion..."[2]

Disagreement between theological parties centered on the church, not the parish. We shall therefore construct a model of the parish and the explicit culture system by which it was justified. When we deal with the church, however, we shall be forced to distinguish, not so much between the social systems themselves, as the goals and procedural conditions which were ~~matters~~ of dispute between theological parties. These models, or ideal types, will serve as a base from which to examine the effect and extent of social and culture change. It is upon these systems that changes in other systems had effect, and within which certain stresses developed which also resulted in change.

The parish as a social system was a creature of constitutional and legislative enactment. Article III of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 (see Appendix I) authorized and required the legislature to insure that towns and precincts made "suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of public worship of God, and for...public protestant teachers...where not done voluntarily." It also gave the legislature the power to require church attendance, and guaranteed the right of the town or precinct to elect and make its own contract with the ministerial candidate.

Opposition to Article III came primarily from two sources: those geographical sections of the state, mainly in the Old Colony, with large Baptist populations, and from the urban areas, especially Boston. The Baptist leader, the Rev. Isaac Backus, led the agitation against the article. In Boston, the town meeting considered a substitute article which very explicitly guaranteed the rights of minority groups to support ministers of their own, or to stipulate that their religious tax be given to the poor.[3] Since probably only one-fifth of the eligible voters participated in the contest over the constitution, the issue must not have appeared important enough to demand the attention of the majority of Massachusetts citizens.[4]

The Constitution of 1780 was much more explicit in regard to the establishment of religion than the Charter of 1691.[5] It rationalized the establishment on the basis of the right of the people to legislate in areas effecting the common good. It was no constitution for sectarians. Religion was instrumental. In "An Address of the Constitutional Convention, to Their Constituents," as well as in Article III itself, this was explicit.

> Surely it would be an affront to the People of Massachusetts Bay to labour to convince them, that the Honor and Happiness of a People depend upon Morality; and that the Public Worship of GOD has a tendency to inculcate the Principles thereof, as well as to preserve a People from forsaking Civilization, and falling into a state of Savage barbarity.[6]

Article III itself begins:

> As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of GOD, and of public instructions in piety, religion and morality: Therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this Commonwealth have a right to....[7]

The civil goal of religious institutions is social control and socialization. It was because of the importance of these goals to society that the legislature was empowered to deal with religious matters. The constitution further provided that the actual jurisdictional unit of civil concern would be the town or precinct. The autonomy of each parish was guaranteed, providing it met the minimal conditions of providing for public worship and for a church building and minister. It should also be noted that Article III explicitly stated that religious taxes could be given to the minister of one's own sect, if there was one locally.

> And every denomination of christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.[8]

In actuality, this article was often ignored by local assessors and selectmen, and dissenters were forced to support the local Congregational Church.[9] Furthermore, a series of congregationally biased court decisions required that dissenting ministers meet certain conditions in order to collect their rates: they must be ordained over some particular parish or place; they must minister to one society only; that society must be incorporated.[10] In any case every citizen had to pay a tax in support of some church. As will be demonstrated later, this had an important effect on the growth of Unitarianism.

Article III of the Constitution of 1780 was implemented by Chapter 10 of the Statutes of 1786. This law formally established the roles and procedural conditions of the parish. It confirmed the bounds and limits of precincts and parishes created before its enactment, either under the Province or the Commonwealth, and declared the "inhabitants of each respective parish and precinct...a body corporate." When towns were divided into two or more parishes, the First Parish was to be the legal successor of the town. All inhabitants who paid two-thirds of a single poll tax were to constitute the voting membership of the parish. In addition to their power to choose a minister, and maintain the church properties, these voters were empowered to elect parish officers, determine the parish budget, and vote on the base figure according to which assessments were to be made. Among the officers to be elected were: a moderator, a clerk, two assessors, a treasurer, a collector.

The General Court saw fit to concern itself only once more in the eighteenth century with a general law dealing with religion. Chapter 87 of the Statutes of 1799 reiterated that "every corporate town, parish, precinct, district, or other body politic, or religious society aforesaid, is hereby required to be constantly provided with a public Protestant teacher of piety, religion and morality...", and provided penalties for towns not meeting the stipulations of the law; it also gave the court of general sessions authority to implement the law when towns did not. These bodies were also specifically authorized to raise voted money by assessments on "all the ratable polls of each particular corporation or religious society aforesaid (the polls and estates of Quakers excepted), in the same proportion as state or town taxes are by law assessed." Dissenters might request that their taxes be given to the minister of their own sect if they filed a certificate of membership in a local church of the sect, signed by its minister and two members constituting a special committee for that purpose. Assessors were also given the authority voluntarily to omit members of dissenting sects from taxation. As previously, Boston was exempted from the provisions of the law.

Of special interest is the first section of Chapter 87:

> That the respective churches connected and associated in public worship with the several towns, parishes, precincts, districts, and other bodies politic, being religious societies, established according to law, within this Commonwealth, shall, at all times, have, use, exercise, and enjoy all their accustomed privileges and liberties, respecting divine worship, church order, and discipline, not repugnant to the constitution of this Commonwealth, and shall be encouraged in the peaceable and regular enjoyment and practice thereof.

This is the only mention of the churches in the statutes. It explicitly acknowledges their connection with various bodies politic, and confirms their traditional local role. By tradition this would include the right to nominate the minister, a nomination which had to be confirmed by the parish, for the minister was a public functionary. A series of court decisions extending well into the middle of the nineteenth century were to define the rights and status of churches.

Since religious societies were bodies politic with certain legal obligations, local towns and their officers required guidance in the exercise of their parochial duties. To aid them a variety of guide books were printed which were extensively used. One of them, The Town Officers, will help us in outlining the roles provided by law within the parish as a social system.[11]

Member. Every inhabitant was considered a member of the parish unless he explicitly indicated membership in another local sect. He was considered a voting member if he paid a town tax equal to two-thirds of a single poll tax. In 1802, the poll tax was 52 cents.[12] Therefore, any inhabitant who paid a town tax of 39 cents on his real or personal property was eligible to vote. Usually the voting members met once a year to elect officers, and to conduct any other business listed on the warrant notifying them of the meeting. Any ten voting members might request that an item be placed on the agenda of a meeting. To receive consideration, an item had to appear on the official warrant calling the meeting.

Moderator. At each parish meeting the election of a moderator was the item of business listed first on the warrant, one of the permanent officers conducting the meeting until the moderator took his place. The moderator served only during the particular meeting at which he was elected. Characteristically, he was a citizen of some age and status in the community. His duties were to preside, keep order, and occasionally to administer oaths.

Clerk. The clerk was elected for a term of one year. His duties included recording all votes passed by the parish during his term of office, and administering oaths of office to the collector and other parish officers.

Assessors. Each parish was authorized to elect two or more persons assessors. Unless a special committee was elected, the assessors constituted what we would today call a governing board. Their duties included: calling parish meetings; managing the business affairs of the parish; issuing a warrant for a meeting when ten or more members indicated their desire that a particular matter be considered; assessing the inhabitants of the parish for expenses of the parish, and insuring that the collector secured the assessed amounts. Parish assessments were made according to the same rules as town assessments. Inhabitants were taxed in proportion to the amount of their real and personal property in addition to paying a standard amount for each poll.

Treasurer. His were the usual duties of treasurers. He might also receive the fines of collectors who refused to be sworn, or issue a warrant of distress against collectors who neglected their duties.

Collector. He was required to collect the sums assessed on each inhabitant. An inhabitant elected collector could not refuse the post without paying a fine. However, certain persons were exempt from serving in the office, including those who had served within the previous seven years, persons commissioned as civil or military officers, church officers, and elected representatives in state government. The fine for not serving was high, approximately nine dollars. Usually older men of high status were elected assessors, while the younger men in the community were elected to the post of collector. In many cases, the collector received a percentage of the taxes he collected. His job, like that of most tax collectors, was not popular.

It is evident that the representatives in the General Court considered the parish a body politic. As such it was concerned with piety, religion, and morality so far as the public interest was concerned. Instead of using the word "minister",they required each parish to employ a "public, Protestant teacher." Nowhere in the statutes was any creedal test or other qualification mentioned. This leads us to ask whether the General Court was unconcerned with the beliefs of its ministers and citizens. Did they believe, even at that early time, that any person with religious faith was acceptable as a teacher? Would the socialization process proceed just as successfully with Anglican or Baptist as with a Congregationalist? Was the body politic, rather like President Eisenhower, interested only in religion in general and its social goals rather than in religion in particular? This seems unlikely. If there had been a substantial question as to the nature of the socialization process and social control function which the religious institution was to perform, then the Constitution and successive legislation would have spelled this out. It would seem that those men who created the Constitution and who represented the people in the General Court felt safe in depending on tradition, and in assuming that a traditional religious culture would continue. Through the informal guidance of the church and the ministry, as well as in the force of custom in still largely homogeneous and stable rural areas, religion would continue to exercise the same influence as in the past through the established institutional pattern. All the state found it necessary to do was to sanction the procedural conditions which would guarantee membership, financial support, physical facilities and salary.

But what of the church? What was its form at the beginning of this period? For the most part, it remained in much the same form it had possessed since 1691. While the roles in the system were the same, the goals and procedural conditions had become again a matter of disagreement between the theological parties within Congregationalism as they had been at the time of the Half-Way Covenant. The roles consisted of minister, deacon, and church member. Each church existed legally in relation to a parish, and also in relation to the congregation, which included every resident of a geographical locus. While the goals of the parish as social system possessed a civic, this-worldly orientation, the goals of the church were explicitly, for the most part, personal, spiritual and transcendental. The explicit goals of the church were still much the same as those stated in the Cambridge platform.[13] Members were to strengthen one another in the faith, exercise watch and discipline over one another, and work in the world in the interests of the faith. Churches were formed by mutual covenant of believers. At least formally the orientation to a theological culture system was very strong among church members, and the religious social motive was stronger than in the general congregation. The member was expected to take communion and present his children for baptism. He was expected to welcome the watch of his minister and fellow members. Within the church the minister was to preside at its meetings, administer the sacraments, shepherd the brethren, administer discipline, and counsel on spiritual problems. The deacons cared for whatever funds and property the church owned (such as the communion silver), helped the pastor administer the ordinances, and by virtue of their special interest and commitment to religion, occupied a high status in the community, especially in the sense of spiritual advisors. As officers of the church, both minister and deacons were ordained and installed by the church, which possessed the sole power to perform ordination, and to dismiss them. The church also had the right to approve or disapprove of church membership applications. Decisions were by majority vote. Church officers did not have veto authority.

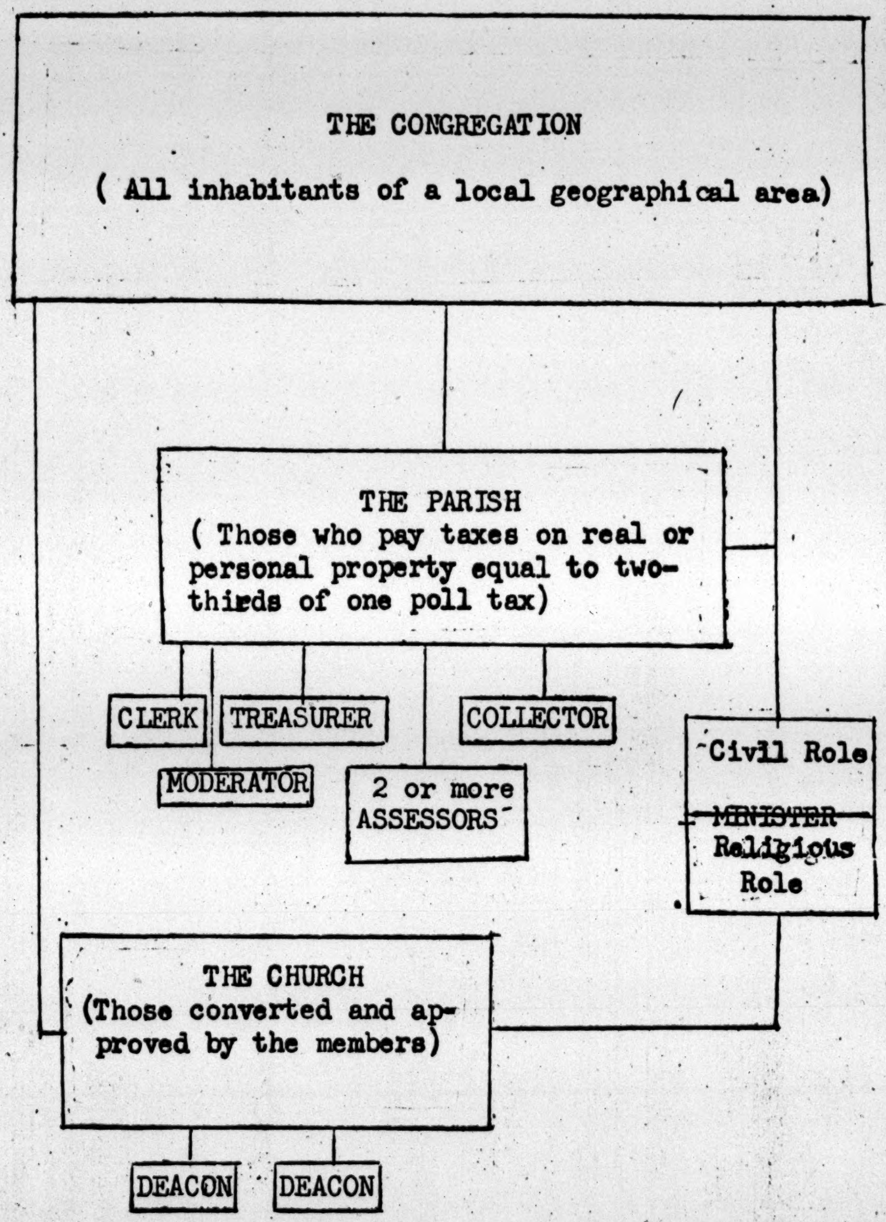

THE CONGREGATION
(All inhabitants of a local geographical area)
THE PARISH
(Those who pay taxes on real or personal property equal to two-thirds of one poll tax)
CLERK
TREASURER
COLLECTOR
MODERATOR
2 or more ASSESSORS
Civil Role
MINISTER
Religious Role
THE CHURCH
(Those converted and approved by the members)
DEACON
DEACON

Fig. 2. — The church and parish as social systems in 1780

In seventeenth century Massachusetts the church alone had possessed the power to call the minister. In 1691, when the colony became a Province, this power was substantially modified. In the congregational tradition only the church could actually ordain a minister, but since his salary was paid by the town or parish, the man had need of approval of the voting members of the body politic. The two social systems made accommodation by sharing the function. The church usually nominated a candidate, or even several candidates who were satisfactory to itself, and the town either accepted or rejected the nominations. This practice remained essentially the same during the early national period and the two systems cooperated harmoniously as long as the social motivation of the members of both was similar, if not equally strong. While it has often been remarked that conflicts between an orthodox church and a liberal town grew increasingly common as the nineteenth century began, in that context it has seldom been noted that in New England traditionally and legally ministers were settled with life-time contracts, and that therefore church and town might go through the process of choosing only three or four times a century. The prospect of hearing one preacher for perhaps forty years led parishes to take the selection very seriously.

While the sanction of law guaranteed maintenance of public worship, it did not in any way effect the maintenance of church membership, or the theological culture system upon which the church was based. Church membership was entirely voluntary, and in addition depended upon the approval of the church members. Thus, the ministers occupied two different roles in social systems with different maintenance conditions. One was his role as public teacher of religion. The other was his role as leader of a group of specially committed Christians. What might appeal to one group, or be appropriate within one system, would not necessarily appeal, or be appropriate in the other system. Officers within the body politic might differ substantially from those in the church. One might be primarily concerned with issues of taxation, for instance, while the other was concerned with theological or religious problems.

In actual practice the activities through which the parish as social system achieved its goals of socialization and social control were confined primarily to Sunday services. Many antiquarians have noted the problems of New Englanders sitting through two long Sunday sermons, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon, in barren, drafty, unheated church buildings.[14] The sermons they heard were eminently theological or moral, with few illustrations or concessions to popular idols. Over the period of, let us say, a forty year pastorate, they did provide the occasion for rather extensive, if sometimes narrow, theological education. The great issues in the debate between Calvinism and Christianity were generally understood and argued by many townsmen.[15] Nevertheless, at least by Methodist standards of the time, New England religion in the eighteenth century was often both literally and symbolically cold. The church had no ladies' circle, no youth groups, no church school, no couples' club, no membership committee, no denominational representatives. Sermons were usually read, and honored intellect more than enthusiasm, even if given by those who advocated conversion (Edwards, _et_ _al_.). While the minister may have often privately taught local scholars, there was no general provision for his educational function except the Sunday services. Catechism was informal. Communion and baptism were only administered once or twice a month. One Sunday a month the church members remained after public worship and received communion, witnessed the sacrament of baptism for infants or descendants of members, and considered other matters of business, such as questions of discipline, or new membership. During the week the minister might call on members, perform a funeral, comfort the troubled, ill, or dying, in addition to keeping his farm, privately tutoring local scholars, or training young would-be ministers. The goals of the parish and church were rather limited and narrowly theological and moral, both in theory and in practice.

Throughout the entire eighteenth century the church was faced with special maintenance problems as a voluntary association, quite different from those of the parish, and not directly related to maintenance of public worship itself. Sociologically one might describe the debate between the New Lights and the Old Lights as one over the maintenance conditions of the church. Of course, these problems were intimately related to the _goals_ of the church as a social system as defined in the religious culture system. To a considerable extent, the debate was between ministers whose parishes as well as churches were voluntary associations and who had therefore adapted themselves to the desires of their congregations (in Boston and other eastern cities), and ministers whose parishes were established, but whose churches were voluntary associations. If the parish, as well as the church, was a voluntary association, the minister was confronted with a different set of problems from those confronting the minister whose church was only voluntary. In a very literal sense the minister in a tax-supported parish could afford to be particular about church membership. Exclusiveness did not effect the maintenance of parish membership, though it might cause controversy. In ordinary circumstances, unless a parish could prove some defect of character, or unministerial behavior, it could only with great difficulty and actual legal liability discharge a minister, at least in the context of establishment. A Boston minister was much more vulnerable, since he was hired by the owners of pews in his church whose approval and financial support he required in order to maintain himself. By necessity, he had to adapt himself and his preaching to other secular systems more than did the established minister in a rural area. These essentially sociological factors have been neglected by students of the theological controversies of New England.

What the New Lights had done, essentially, was partially to solve the problem of motivation so far as the church as a voluntary association was concerned. Through the technique of the revival, they were able to motivate individuals to join the church on the basis of very specific religious goals. This system was not that of original Puritanism, which tended to be legalistic and contractual, and therefore, too rational, but rather that of Edwardian Calvinism with its emphasis on grace and conversion, rather than a convenant. The Calvinism of the Great Awakening was essentially and necessarily individualistic, rather than social, in its emphasis.

By 1780, the distractions of the Revolution, and the disorganized political and economic situation, had left both the establishment and its affiliated churches in a weakened condition. Not only this, but the opposing theological parties were now confronted with challenges, not only to their local institutional power, but to their culture system itself. The French Revolution constituted not only a challenge to the social structure, but also to the traditional intellectual base of New England religion. Even the supernatural rationalism of the Arminians was far different from the Deism of Paine or Allen. Rationalism was not so much in issue as was the nature and authority of the Scriptures, and of Revelation, as well as the nature of Christ. World views of a fundamentally contrasting nature were for the first time confronting each other in Massachusetts. They were threatening to Edwardians, Old Calvinists, and Arminians alike. In addition, movements of social protest such as Shay's Rebellion threatened the status quo. On such issues virtually the entire establishment, without regard to theological party, united. After all, what was the establishment for if not for "the good order and preservation of civil government?" Curiously enough, concerned as the New Lights were with the church, as long as they were maintained by the body politic, they would necessarily be involved in the use of religion as a secular instrumentality. They did not perceive that the interests of the two social and culture systems were not necessarily the same. The maintenance of the establishment and the maintenance of churches of the converted involved a contradiction.

The reaction of the ministers in terms of the effect on their theological commitment was either an acceptance of a limited accommodation with the world (Old Calvinists), greater accommodation to the world (Arminians), or reassertion of the primacy of the church and the religious culture system (New Divinity) on an individualistic basis. One might suspect that there was a correlation not so much between geographical locale, wealth, or education, and theological opinions, as between different procedural conditions effecting ministers, parishes, churches and theological opinion. In Boston, the parish depended for its maintenance on voluntary participation, especially in terms of financial support. In such a voluntary situation, in the absence of a widespread strong religious social motive, and a heterogeneity of opinion, tolerance of divergent views was necessary so far as the ministry was concerned. In a rural area, more stable and homogeneous, more traditional in regard to theological opinion, where every citizen was taxed to support public worship, the problem was one of religious motivation, especially in regard to the church.

It is instructive to note how procedural conditions for maintenance have a long term effect on history. The voluntary nature of Boston parishes as well as churches from the very beginning resulted in the ministers being in somewhat different circumstances from those elsewhere in the state. As long as most of the population shared either the original Puritan sectarian impulse or the conventional Puritan religious motivation this difference was not vital. But when the culture system of those in the city area began to change, and their religious motive with it, the minister was in a situation where he was forced to adapt himself and this adaptation began probably as early as the 1690's, symbolized perhaps by the founding of Brattle Street. Because of the legal and compulsory nature of the religious social system in the interior, the clergyman was not forced to accommodate himself nearly as much. The civil requirement of public worship protected him. Only in the large towns did the clergy have serious problems (as Jonathan Edwards did eventually at Northampton), and since there were few such towns until the nineteenth century, the problem did not emerge until then, nor did the orthodox recognize the extent of the threat. In attacking the liberal clergy the orthodox were essentially confronting the changes which by 1800 were beginning to manifest themselves outside the towns of the east coast. As we will have occasion to detail later, while the counterattack involved the revival and espousal of stricter maintenance conditions of the church, it is less often noted that this "hard" line continued only as long as orthodox churches in the cities could draw on a pool of migrants from rural Massachusetts itself, and that, when by the 1850's this internal migration had passed or moderated, orthodoxy moderated itself in much the same general manner as had the Unitarian Congregationalism several decades earlier. The Congregationalism of Horace Bushnell would be little different from that of the early Unitarians in many ways. If in theological details such as the trinity it differed, in its essential style it did not. Revivalism was only effective in urban areas when combined with many other structural modifications in the church and parish as social systems. This then involved a substantial change in both the culture and social systems of orthodoxy.

Thus far, we have described the formal social systems of parish and church, and speculated about the effect on historical events of the structure of these systems. Let me conclude this chapter by describing these systems in historical practice during the period 1780-1800.[16] Virtually all historical sources agree that the church as a social system was suffering from maintenance difficulties.[17] In many parts of Massachusetts, despite the law, even parishes were suffering. Taxes were not paid and ministers had trouble collecting their salaries. Infidelity was common in colleges, and to some extent among the general populace. Dissatisfaction with the establishment was common. Institutional arrangements in practice were diverse. In towns which were still essentially rural or sparse in population, parish and town were often the same. There was one tax-supported church and minister. Town and parish records were kept together, and annual town and parish meetings were the same, religious matters being decided by the town "in its parochial capacity." In towns where density or population size, geographical distance, or dissent had made it necessary, there were two or more parishes. Without exception, in 1780, parishes were formed only on a geographical basis. When two or more parishes were formed within a town, the town and local parishes necessarily ceased to be identical. By legal precedent, and where other voluntary arrangements had not been made, when such separation occurred, the financial resources, and the property of the parish were retained by the First Parish, and the new parish or precinct had to raise the money to acquire new ministerial lands and a church building. The new parish as well as the old in almost every case possessed and exercised the power to tax inhabitants of its local geographical area. All inhabitants were considered members of the parish, and voting inhabitants possessed the usual legal powers. When a new parish was founded, a new church was also created. Usually the old church discharged and recommended those of its members living in the geographical area set off so they could join the new church, and members and ministers of nearby churches would gather to assist in the founding of the new church. The new church would then either ratify the minister called by the new parish, or else would nominate one to be called by the parish, and ordain and install him. Where a town had been divided into two or more parishes, the parishes were called precincts.

That Congregationalism was on the defensive during this period is evident from the statistics on the founding of new churches. Between 1760 and 1783, 156 new churches were established. In the next twenty years, the growth was very small, in the decade 1790-1800 less "than during any previous ten years for ninety years," this despite a population increase from 268,627 in 1780 to 422,845 in 1800.[18]

According to my examination of the records of parishes during this period, it seems that the social system in most cases functioned very much as prescribed by law. Meetings were called and recorded by the formal means. All officers were elected by the voting members of the parish. Meetings tended to be sparsely attended unless there was some issue in controversy. Parish officers, except perhaps for the collector, tended to be persons with community status. Attendance laws were not generally enforced. Often seating in the meeting house was allocated according to status and amount taxed to support the parish. The parish more than the church reflected the social class structure of the community, and was dominated by those high in status. Usually once a month the minister exchanged pulpits with another minister, oftentimes of a different theological view point from his own.

Church membership at the end of the Revolution had declined. Those active in the parish were not necessarily active in the church. So far as I am aware, there is as yet no statistical material on the extent to which the officers of church and parish, or officers of parish and membership of church overlapped. It is my impression that they tended less and less to be both members of the church and officers of the parish. By self-selection, the members of the church tended to be more homogeneous in terms of theological opinion while the voting members of the parish tended to be more and more heterogeneous. Though not universally true, the church tended to share a specific religious culture world, while the parish evidenced several different religious culture worlds. Given the structure and relationships of two systems, conflict was inevitable.

Beginning in this period, and continuing into the early nineteenth century, New Divinity ministers advocated a strict church membership policy. They sought to reinstitute public relations of religious experience, increased exercise of the disciplinary function of the church, and through the use of creeds explicitly required orthodox theological belief. In addition, they discouraged the traditional practice of the pulpit exchange in those cases where the exchange would be with a minister of a heterodox theological point of view. In a positive sense, through the various techniques associated with revivalism, they attempted to increase the religious motivation of their congregation, and through such means to increase the number of "the saved," i.e. church members. The effect of this new emphasis which was essentially a problem of boundary maintenance of the church, was to complicate integration, adaptation and boundary maintenance conditions in the parish. For example, Nathaniel Emmons, one of the leading New Divinity theologians, emphasized the difference between the Christian and the sinner, and the resulting qualification upon church membership:

> Christ has drawn the characters of his true disciples, and they should admit none to unite with them in his holy ordinances, who are destitute of those visible signs of saving grace.[19]

In other words to become a church member it was necessary to experience conversion, and before the assembled church, to make a profession of faith and repentance. Only those who had done so, and who were baptized, would be admitted to the church and therefore to communion. These were the visible saints.

Yet, the New Divinity had little wide appeal in post-Revolutionary New England. A Calvinism of a more moderate temper, and greater willingness to accommodate was advocated by the majority of clergymen. They, too, required conversion, but without some of the elaborate doctrinal requirements of the New Divinity. Beginning in the late 1790's, and led by men such as Morse, Beecher and Taylor, this orthodox group attacked both the Calvinism of the New Divinity, and the Arminianism and Unitarianism of the liberals. They differed from the Old Calvinists in being more aggressively doctrinal. Thus, they would have disagreed with Dr. Ripley's expressed view: "Far be it from me to impose religious creeds on my brethren, or to be indifferent about the one I admit for myself."[20] They forced theological issues, but they did so through means of propaganda, revivals, and a more moderate expression of Calvinistic opinion. At first, they supported the establishment, but eventually discovered that the heterogeneity of the parish was inconsistent with their theological aims, and thus came to advocate separation.

Arminian congregationalists, on the other hand, interpreted Christianity primarily in moral terms. A person who professed belief in Christ, by signing a covenant, or by private confession, and who lived a conventionally moral life, was considered a Christian, and therefore eligible for church membership. Little more was required of him in terms of orthodox doctrine or extraordinary discipline. These practices represented accommodation in the context of establishment, and in the transitional period to follow, they would be strongly attacked, not only for their specific theological heresies, but for the whole spirit of their relation to the world. Since their accommodation tended to occur within the establishment, when disestablishment came, it would create special problems of adaptation. It is in many ways this process of adaptation with which we shall be concerned in succeeding chapters.

The Constitution of 1780 established the parish as a social system on much the same basis as it had existed during the provincial period. Following the Revolution both churches and parishes were in a state of debility. Theologically while most Congregationalists, at least outside of Boston, supported establishment, a disagreement existed between them as to the maintenance conditions of the church, a disagreement which became more bitter. It was reinforced by the different circumstances in which parish and church existed in Boston and other towns, as compared with rural areas. In both city and country the goal of parish and church was limited to services of worship, sacraments, special services, and a limited amount of catechetical and theological education. This education was predominantly sermon-oriented. In order to counter the challenge, social and intellectual, of the French Revolution, to strengthen religious motivation, and preserve the traditional religious culture system, the method of revival was espoused. Through conversion, church membership and orthodox doctrine would be maintained. To different degrees both New Divinity men and evangelical Congregationalists advocated these means. They were opposed by moderate Old Calvinists and Arminians who had made an accommodation to the world, who, in a sense, were conservative, in accepting both the establishment of religion and the social status quo, and who tended to concentrate on maintenance functions harmonizing the various opinions within their parishes, or ignoring the differences. While Arminians, with other parties at the beginning of the period were united in support of the establishment, and of the Federalist party, their alliance would soon break over theological issues, and over the question of accommodation to the secularism of Massachusetts in the early national period. Yet the problems of each party differed from those of the other parties, and eventually involved transformations that were both ironic and paradoxical. In terms of the social system probably the evangelical Christians adjusted to the new conditions most quickly, but the culture system adjustments were much more difficult. Arminianism, on the other hand, accommodated itself more easily as a culture system, but found changes eventually required in its social system nearly insuperable. Arminians and Unitarians did not realize the extent to which their success depended upon the special conditions of the establishment, and upon a rather narrow population reservoir.

CHAPTER II--Footnotes

[1] Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Struggle over the Adoption of the Constitution of Massachusetts, 1780," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston, 1917), L, pp. 356-357. According to Morison the vote was 8,885 in favor and 6,225 against. Only in Bristol and Suffolk (Boston) did a majority of the voters oppose the article. It did not in any case apply to Boston. Bristol County had been a center of Baptist influence for more than a century. See Alvah Hovey, *A Memoir of the Life and Times of Rev. Isaac Backus* (Boston, 1859), pp. 232-264.

[2] Wright, 229. For an examination of the Arminian attitude towards the establishment see his chapter x.

[3] Robert J. Taylor, ed., *Massachusetts, Colony to Commonwealth. Documents on the Formation of its Constitution, 1775-1780* (Chapel Hill, 1961), pp. 146-150.

[4] Arthur Lord, "Some Objections Made to the State Constitution, 1780," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston, 1917), L, p. 55.

[5] The Province charter had said almost nothing about religion, leaving the legislature free to re-establish the Puritan church, *de facto*, in 1691. The history of church and state in New England has been extensively documented, though virtually all existing studies would benefit from greater knowledge of the sociology of religion. For the period before 1780 see Paul E. Lauer, "Church and State in New England," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* (Baltimore, 1892), X, pp. 93-192; Susan M. Reed, "Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691-1740," *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* (Urbana, 1914) III, No. 4, 208 pp. The Charter of 1691 may be studied in Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Collections* (Boston, 1913), II, pp. 7-29.

[6] Taylor, 125.

[7] Taylor, 128

[8] Taylor, 129

[9] For details of religious persecution and harassment under the constitution see Hovey, pp. 232-264 and David B. Ford, *New England's Struggles for Religious Liberty* (Philadelphia, 1896).

[10] *Washburn* v. *West Springfield Parish*, 1 Mass. 32(1804); *Kendall* v. *Kingston*, 5 Mass. 524 (1809); *Smith* v. *Dalton*, 2 Dane Ab. 337 (1803); *Barnes* v. *Falmouth Parish*, 6 Mass. 401 (1810).

[11] Samuel Freeman, *The Town Officer: or the Power and Duty of Selectmen, Town Clerks, Town Treasurers, Overseers of the Poor, Assessors, Constables, Collectors of Taxes, Surveyors of Highways, Surveyors of Lumber, Fence Viewers, Field Drivers, Measurers of Wood, And other Town Officers, as contained in the Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts with a Variety of Forms, for the use of such officers. To which are added The Power and Duty of Towns, Parishes and Plantations, and a plain and regular Method of keeping Town Accounts. Also A Table of Crimes and Punishments, and an Appendix containing some Inspection Laws at large, and other useful matter.* (5th ed.; Boston, 1802). The information from which the following roles are constructed comes from *The Town Officer*, pp. 212-214, and from Chapter 10 of the Statutes of 1786, as well as from inspection of numerous warrants and minutes for parish meetings.

[12] Freeman, 103.

[13] As described in the Cambridge Platform: "All believers ought, as God giveth them opportunity there unto, to endeavor to joyn themselves unto a particular church and that in respect of the honour of Jesus Christ, in his example, and Institution, by the professed acknowledgment of, and subjection unto the order to ordinances of the Gospel: as also in respect of their good of communion, founded upon their visible union, and contained in the promises of Christ's special presence in the church: whence they have fellowship with him, and in him one with an other: also, for the keeping of them in the way of Gods commandments, and recovering of them in case of wandering, (which all Christs sheep are subject to in this life), being unable to returne of themselves; together with the benefit of their mutual edification, and of their posterity, that they may not be cut off from the privledges of the covenant. Otherwise, if a believer offends, he remains destitute of the remedy provided in that behalf. And should all believers neglect this duty of joyning to all particular congregations: it might follow thereupon, that Christ should have no visible political churches upon earth." Williston Walker, *The Creeds And Platforms of Congregationalism* (Boston, 1960), chapter xvii, p. 209.

[14] See, for instance, Ola E. Winslow, *Meeting-house Hill, 1630-1783* (New York, 1952); Alice M. Earle, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England* (New York, 1893); Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis, "Old Worcester. III," *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity for the year 1901* (Worcester, 1901), pp. 470-488.

[15] Harriet Beecher Stowe's novels *Oldtown Folks* and *The Minister's Wooing* charmingly picture New England community and religious life at the end of the eighteenth century.

[16] My aim in this chapter has been to construct a model generally applicable in Massachusetts at the end of the eighteenth century. While I have not dealt specifically in this chapter with the parishes described in chapter i, the model applies to those where parishes existed in 1800, i.e., Worcester, Springfield, Fitchburg and Waltham. The split in Worcester occurred earlier than almost anywhere in the state, 1785. The dispute was theological, Calvinist versus Arminian, and involved conflict over the choice of a minister. Springfield's First Parish ordained the Rev. Bezaleel Howard, an Arminian, in 1785, and remained united and peaceful until his retirement. When, about 1815, his successor refused exchanges with Arminians, a dispute broke out. Fitchburg was deeply torn by disputes over both location and theology during the entire period. Waltham existed quietly under an aged Old Calvinist and was not disturbed by Theological conflict until his successor's pastorate in the 1820's. Unless New Divinity or evangelical pastors were called conditions for church membership were liberal in all these parishes.

[17] A number of scholars of otherwise very diverse points of view may be cited in support. See Clifton E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1960), pp. 210-237; James Truslow Adams, *New England in the Republic 1776-1850* (Boston, 1927), p. 217 ff., *et passim*; also George Leon Walker, *Some Aspects of the Religious Life of New England with special reference to Congregationalists* (Boston, 1897); Richard J. Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition: 1775-1818* (Middletown, Conn., 1963); Chard Powers Smith, *Yankees and God* (New York, 1954); G. Adolf Koch, *Republican Religion: The American Revolution and the Cult of Reason* (New York, 1933); Anson Ely Morse, *The Federalist Party in Massachusetts to the Year 1800* (Princeton, 1909); George Burgess, *Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England during the century between 1740 and 1840* (Boston, 1847); Vernon Stauffer, *New England and the Bavarian Illuminati* (New York, 1918); also Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, J. K. Morse *Jedidiah Morse*, Atkins and Fagley, [redacted] Punchard, *et al*.

[18] Punchard, IV, 655. For population growth of Massachusetts see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C., 1960), pp. 13, 756.

[19] The Works of Nathaniel Emmons, D.D., Jacob Ide, ed. (5 vols.; Boston, 1842), V, p. 526.

[20] Ezra Ripley, minister of the Concord parish, immortalized by Emerson as the last of the orthodox Calvinists, was more liberal than his eulogizer realized. Fidelity in Christian Ministers. A Sermon, delivered, November 22, 1809, at the Ordination of the Rev. Samuel Ripley... (Boston, 1809).

PART II

CHANGING CHANGES

CHAPTER III

A QUESTION OF NUMBERS

During the period 1800-1870 the total population of Massachusetts increased approximately 3.5 times, from 422, 845 to 1,457,351. This change was not a simple change, spread uniformly over the geographic area of the state. It was characterized by a great increase in the concentration of population in the limited geographical area of cities, a decrease in the population of many rural towns, and a complex pattern of migration. Many inhabitants and children of inhabitants in rural areas moved either out of the state to the western frontier or else to the new manufacturing cities of the state; residents from rural areas of other New England states moved into the cities of Massachusetts; in the middle of the period a steadily growing wave of foreign immigration mainly into the cities of the Commonwealth took place.[1]

These changes necessitated a series of adaptations by the entire population. Institutions appropriate to the urban environment had to be developed. Rural Americans had to adapt themselves to city life and the requirements of the developing industrial society. Immigrants had to be assimilated into American culture and urban society. These exacting challenges for the residents of the state necessarily involved all the citizens in somewhat abrupt and anxiety-producing adjustments which were achieved only after many years, and a process of trial and error experiment. In the meantime dissatisfaction was inevitable among almost all segments of the population.

The urban trend has been well documented. The percentage of the population living in cities (places of over 12,000 population) increased from 11 per cent in 1820 (only two such places in that year), to 17.52 per cent in 1840, to 34.78 per cent in 1855, and 50.66 per cent in 1875.[2]

"Looking at these changes ..., it appears that most of the increase in population is to be ascribed to the growth of 26 towns of the largest size. To the total increase of 1,055,000 these contributed 625,000 or 59 per cent. The towns between 3,000 and 10,000 furnished 38.9 per cent., and the smallest towns about 2 per cent. The total population of the last group was only 19,000 greater in 1860 than in 1810."[3] While the author was describing all of Southern New England, the general proportions would be true for Massachusetts alone.

The rate of population growth increased significantly after 1840. The rate of increase for Massachusetts by decades was as follows.[4]

Table 2

Population Increase By Decades

Decade	Per Cent
1790-1800	11.6
1800-1810	11.5
1810-1820	10.9
1820-1830	16.7
1830-1840	20.9
1840-1850	34.8
1850-1860	23.8

It is evident then that the effect of population growth was more or less cumulative, and that serious reactions to it might not, for the most part, occur until after 1840, when the extent of the change, and therefore of the required adjustment would begin to become obvious.

Urbanization grew from a complex of chiefly economic causes. About the time of the War of 1812 the state began to industrialize.

Manufactures attracted large labor forces and the required service populations. With the advent of the railroad the towns in the interior of Massachusetts quickly industrialized. Boston, the financial, commercial and shipping center, as well as the chief port of immigration, was the heart of the Commonwealth. Certain other costal cities such as New Bedford and Gloucester grew as fishing and whaling industries prospered, but for the most part manufactures, and especially textile manufacturing and related industries were the main factor in urban expansion. "All of the counties started on a fairly even basis as regards manufactures in 1810. By 1860 some counties had industries whose importance, as measured by the value of their annual product and by the number of persons employed, was many times that of others. The manufacturing counties showed invariably the greater increase in population."[5] Toward the end of the third decade the citizens of the state began to recognize the shape of their future. "The industry of the people of this state is becoming every year, more and more, diverted to manufacturing employments. It is this exercise of the labour and skill of our population which must hereafter constitute our chief means of wealth."[6]

Given the magnitude of such population changes it would seem likely that Unitarian parishes and churches would be effected. Let us examine first the number and distribution of parishes and churches as it is related to population change, and attempt to discover the effect of population change on the specific historical systems.

Because of the nature of organizational arrangements it is difficult to formulate precise statistics on Massachusetts Unitarianism. The American Unitarian Association was not a denomination in the sense of being the administrative or governing body for all Unitarian parishes. During the period we are studying it was not an organization of churches or parishes at all, but of individuals and later of auxiliaries. Until the 1840's The Massachusetts Register makes no distinction in its listings between orthodox and Unitarian Congregational churches, listing them both as simply Congregational. The basis for the following statistics, then, is complex. The Massachusetts Register for 1847 distinguishes between Congregational and Unitarian Congregational churches in its listings.[7] It provides a basis for locating every Unitarian society in Massachusetts by town in that year. Furthermore the U.S. Census of 1850 included materials on numbers of churches by county by denomination. In addition we have in the Forty-Fifth Anniversary of the American Unitarian Association; with the Annual Report of the Executive Committee, and the Treasurer's Statement for the Year Ending April 30, 1870 a list of societies that contributed to the Association, as well as a supplemental list of societies which did not contribute, but which were considered by the Association to be Unitarian.[8] Combining these sources with numerous local histories, I have sought to discover the year during which each particular parish became Unitarian, if it had been orthodox previously, or else the year the society was founded. I have also gone through the entire set of files in the Historical Library of the American Unitarian Association. Presumably that library has a separate file on every society in Massachusetts which is, or ever was, Unitarian.

The result of combining these sources is found in the following table:

TABLE 3

Number of Unitarian Parishes in Massachusetts

1830-1870

Decade	New	Total
before 1830	..	107
1830-1839	39	146
1840-1849	20	163
1847	..	164
1850	..	163
1850-1859	12	...
1860-1869	17	180

Eighteen churches listed in The Massachusetts Register in 1847 were not listed by the Association in 1870. My investigations show that while the denomination lost these 18 churches, it gained 34. A calculation of the rate of increase of all towns in Massachusetts between 1800-1870, of those towns in which Unitarian churches still existed in 1870, and of those towns in which Unitarian churches existed in 1847, but not in 1870 shows the following contrast.

> 265 towns which existed in 1800, and which, therefore, can be compared with their population in 1870, the average rate of increase was 2.377. 107 Unitarian towns which existed in 1800, and which, therefore, can be compared with their population in 1870 (which towns are also included in the total above), the average rate of increase was 3.187.
>
> 14 towns in which Unitarian churches disappeared which existed in 1800, and which, therefore, can be compared with their population in 1870, the average rate of increase was 1.90.

On the basis of the above information I very tentatively conclude that the probable reason for the closing of Unitarian churches in these towns was related both to the size of population and rate of population growth. On the other hand, an examination of the location of new Unitarian parishes after 1840 shows that these were located either in the rapidly growing communities in the environs of Boston, or else in new and rapidly growing manufacturing centers (Ware, Chicopee, etc).

An examination of the table above shows, however, that in terms of number of parishes, the Unitarians failed to keep up with the expanding population. While the population of the state was increasing 3.5 times, the number of parishes failed even to double. This is especially unusual in view of the two following tables:

TABLE 4

Unitarian Parishes (Outside Boston) By Size of Town in 1870

Town size	No. Unit. Parishes	% Unit. Parishes	Total No. of Towns	% of all Towns	% U.
under 2000	43	34	175	52	24
2000-4999	49	49	110	32	45
5000-11999	18	14	31	9	58
over 12000	17	13	19	7	89

TABLE 5

Unitarian Parishes (Outside Boston) by Rate of Town Increase 1800-1870

Rate of Increase	total No. towns	Unitarian Towns	% of Total No. of Towns
under 1	59	12	20
1.-1.99	113	41	36
2.-2.99	39	20	51
3.-4.99	29	17	58
5.-9.99	16	(c) 8	50
10. & above	9	9	100

As inspection of the two tables will show that the presence of a Unitarian parish in a town tends to be associated with both the absolute size of the town and the size of its growth rate. In 1890

Carroll wrote that "Of Unitarian and Episcopal communicants, 48 per cent are in cities of 25,000 population and upward".[9] At an earlier time it would appear also that Unitarianism tended to be associated with urbanism. But if this is true, it raises a special question: if Unitarianism is associated with these indices of urbanism, why is it that its rate of growth, either in terms of number of churches or number of communicants is not greater? One would think that association with the urban trend would also imply growth as a denomination in step with that urban trend.

But perhaps we should examine another possibility first. Perhaps while the number of churches did not grow proportionately to the population increase, the membership of the parishes or churches did. While the vagaries of historical documentation somewhat limit our data on this point we do have some information.

There is a singular lack of documentation as to total membership of Unitarian parishes in Massachusetts, partly because membership meant nothing distinctive in terms of identity so long as every resident of a town was taxed to support the parish. Membership was only a useful figure after the parish became in some sense a voluntary association. The Massachusetts Register for 1847 lists the total number of Unitarians as 30,000. The same figure is given in Alexander J. Schem's The American Ecclesiastical Year Book.[10] The census of 1890 reports the number of inhabitants of Massachusetts reporting Unitarian preference at 34,610. This is a very small gain, compared with the general increase in population throughout the period. We find other information by consulting the manuscript records of the historically specific systems, and comparing local parish membership with total town population.[11]

TABLES 6 - 11

Town Population and Parish Membership by Decades

TABLE 6
WORCESTER

Year	Pop. of Town	Year	No. Male Parish members
1800	2,411	1802	198
1820	2,962	1827	219
1830	4,173	1832	316
1840	7,497	1840	159
1850	17,049	1852	108 + 41 (1845)
1870	41,105	1866	103 + 74 (1862)

TABLE 7
LOWELL

1830	6,474	1830	60
1880	59,475	1880	351

TABLE 8
FALL RIVER

1830	4,158	1832	64
1860	14,026	1858	108

TABLE 9
SPRINGFIELD

1820	3,914	1819	114
1880	33,340	1886	214

TABLE 10
FITCHBURG

1800	1,390	1805	185
1830	2,169	1825	218
1840	2,604	1835	300(estates)
		1837	56(pew deeds)
1870	26,766	1874	c 124

TABLE 11
WALTHAM

1840	2,504	1839	104 (pew deeds)
1870	9,065	1865	125 (annual mtng)

An examination of the figures makes it evident that neither on the state level nor locally did Unitarian membership growth anywhere approach equalling the general population growth. In 1870 there were actually fewer members of the two Unitarian parishes combined than there were of Second Parish, Worcester, in 1802 although the population had increased seventeen times. In Springfield the membership had doubled while the population increased about eleven times between 1800-1870. While there had been a large increase in Lowell it did not equal the rate of increase of the city, and from limited evidence I would conclude that in Fitchburg the number of members actually decreased.

There are certain other problems related to population growth which should be mentioned briefly. Traditionally in Massachusetts the parish had a legal geographical boundary, and everyone within that boundary was considered part of the congregation of that parish, though that does not apply to any of the figures on the previous page. The adjustment was considerable for those who had to change their thinking from geographical boundaries to social boundaries defined by voluntary affiliation. Furthermore, within the old geographical boundaries were now a very diverse and heterogeneous mixture of believers on whose loyalty to the New England Way ministers could not depend. The problem of this adjustment was reflected in the 1850's by Edward Everett Hale.

> The Protestant system appears most distinctly, and therefore to the greatest advantage, in the cases, not yet unfrequent, of small communities who have but one minister in the midst of them. The old country parish of New England, where the minister was settled in town-meeting of the whole by the vote of the town, was such a community. It was his legal duty as well as his Christian privilege

> to know every family within that township, and to be Christ's officer for relieving any wants of theirs which were not relieved by the offices of neighbors or friends. In the complications of our lives, it is no longer the town-meeting of saint and sinner, voting together, which calls the Christian minister to be the servant of them all: it is a parish of religious persons, who have at least enough Christian interest to form a Christian congregation.....[12]

Urbanization, immigration and increased social mobility tended not only to effect membership, but confronted the churches with problems of numbers and movement which its largely stable rural or town experience had not prepared it for.

Immigration effected it in two ways, both adverse. Immigration into those cities where Unitarianism was early established consisted largely of two groups: foreign immigrants who were mostly Roman Catholic and migrants from rural areas of New England who were mostly orthodox. At the same time the loss of residents of rural towns tended to weaken not only the local orthodox parishes in those towns, but the Unitarian parishes as well. There is a variety of testimony relating to these demographic influences:

Edward Everett Hale discussed the problem in relation to Boston.

> A somewhat drowsy little seaport, which supposed itself, as it still does, the centre of the world, has been enlarged to be really the metropolis of New England. With the enlargement of its communications with all parts of America and some parts of Europe, an immense population has come in, which knows nothing of its ancient customs, has not been taught in its schools, and is completely indifferent to its religion. Of the population of this Boston, more than one-half are European or of European parents.[13]

A contemporary scholar has written:

> By 1830 the tide began to turn. At that time the chartering and construction of railroads began to receive the attention of the citizens of Boston, the trend of population was turning more and more urbanward, and a newer

> generation was about to change the Unitarian complex of Boston. After 1830 with the opening of the railroads the Protestant population of the city began to increase. Streams of energetic and enterprising young people poured into the city from the back country of Massachusetts which had been relatively untouched by Unitarianism. Back home their ministers were as a rule moderate Calvinists who were definitely opposed to Unitarianism. Coming to Boston, they were not welcomed into the Unitarian churches. The controlling Unitarian party made little or no effort to convert their enemies or attract those prejudiced against them.[14]

That this happened also outside of Boston is apparent.

> Claiming free thought for himself, and encouraging it in his people, Dr. Osgood brought his parish quite up to his standard of liberality and progress. At his death, a large majority of the native inhabitants had quietly taken side with the Unitarians; while many citizens not born in the town, had as quietly taken side with the Trinitarians.[15]

That these new inhabitants did not all join the orthodox congregational parishes is evident from the statistics of parishes in Massachusetts according to the Census of 1850. Baptists were by then the second most numerous denomination in terms of number of parishes, and the largest number of these parishes were in the same counties as the Congregationalists: Worcester, Middlesex and Essex. From local histories it is also evident that American migrants to the new cities and industrial centers were attracted to Baptist and Methodist churches, rather than either Congregational or Unitarian parishes. By 1870 those denominations which most church historians have associated with rural America and the frontier were more likely to be found in an urban than in a rural Massachusetts township.

That migration out of rural townships adversely effected the growth of Unitarianism is shown by statistics already cited. Thus the fourteen parishes which went out of existence between 1847 and 1870 were in towns whose growth rate was below the state average, and far below the Unitarian average. In 1857 leaders of the American Unitarian Association were employing home missionaries to strengthen faltering rural Massachusetts churches. "In towns in New England, drained by emmigration of their means and hopes, he may help keep alive on domestic altars the fires of sacrifice which have died out in many churches."[16] "We need home missions because we have feeble societies in New England. The fact before alluded of the great emigration from New England conspires, with other causes, to make feeble societies."[17] "In many of our older New England towns, while the population has been stationary or declining, honest diversity of religious opinion has arisen. Hence the large number of our feeble churches."[18]

All the tendencies were not adverse. If the country parishes were weakening, and central city churches were engulfed in unfriendly migrations and problems of adjustment, some suburban churches were founded or grew in size.[19] Thus ten of the churches founded between 1840-49 were in greater Boston, while those founded in the same decade in Lawrence, Worcester, Chicopee and Ware were in growing cities. A similar trend marked the next two decades, but the proportion was nowhere equal to the growth of the general population.

But what of the churches? Did every Unitarian parish include a church of committed Unitarian Christians? In what condition were the churches during the period? If the parishes did not prosper, did the more explicitly religious institutions?

Before the nineteenth century began the Arminians had already tended to de-emphasize the church as an exclusive institution by advocating that the sacraments which had hitherto been open to only the visible saints should be open to all who called themselves Christian and lived a normally virtuous life. "If we are to obey the distinct command of Christ, there is as much reason why we should break bread as observe the Lord's Day, or pray, or attend the preaching of the Word." "... the Lord's Supper was divinely ordained, as 'a visible mark, sign or badge' of the Christian, not only of the regenerate Christian."[20] At the turn of the century Boston churches were 'relieved' of their power to choose the minister and the proprietors of the church, the equivalent of the parish, became the sole body to call.[21] Yet this advocacy of liberal church membership policies does not seem to have grown out of an overwhelming popular demand for a privilege which was denied. While in some cases protest was voiced against orthodox churches excluding Arminians and others, when liberal membership policies existed the church did not appear to be overwhelmed with applications.

We have adequate statistics on only two of the historically specific systems under study, Waltham and Worcester.

TABLE 12

New Church Membership, Waltham, 1810-1839

Year	Men	Women	Total
1810-1819	17	52	69
1820-1829	6	19	25
1830-1839	10	17	27

This was a first parish in which virtually all citizens of Waltham were included until at least 1820. Samuel Ripley reported that in 1815 the total church membership was 160, probably a relatively large number for the time.[22]

TABLE 13

New Church Membership, Worcester 1790-1850

Year	Men	Women	Total
1790-1799	9	14	23
1800-1809	13	31	44
1810-1819	14	44	58
1820-1829	12	38	50
1830-1839	19	66	85
1840-1849	15	43	58

Since Worcester was founded only five years before, in 1785, we have a clear record of the fortunes of the church. While in 1789 it had 29 members, it would appear that over the years it experienced some growth. Curiously the church membership increased by 85 in the decade 1830-39 while the parish membership was decreasing from 316 to 159.

Though we have no information on the churches in Fitchburg, Lowell or Springfield, we have a limited amount on Fall River. Apparently, and perhaps significantly, there was no church formed at the time the Fall River Unitarian Society was founded, contrary to New England custom. The first record of a church is in 1840 when 21 persons signed a "Convenant of the Communicants of the Unitarian Society Fall River, Mass." Apparently the signers by describing themselves as "communicants" were indicating their membership in the group which would receive communion. Notice, however, that they did not use the word "church." A decade later Samuel Longfellow mentioned in a letter that during his three-year pastorate 2 persons had joined the church.[23]

When Unity Church was founded in Worcester in 1846 it did away entirely with the church as a separate social system. Society and church membership were synonymous, and all those considering themselves as Christians were welcomed to the communion service.

One similarity stands out in examining the two sets of membership statistics we have: the disproportionate number of women who joined the church. In Waltham between 1810 and 1839, 88 women and only 33 men; in Worcester between 1790 and 1850, 236 women and only 82 men joined, ratios of 2.66 and 2.87 respectively. It would also appear that church membership did not increase proportionately to total population increase.

The problems of church membership and participation in the Christian ordinances appear to have been an even more serious problem than our figures would indicate. As early as 1822 Aaron Bancroft complained that only a very few of those who might were actually attending communion. "We meet at the Lord's Table only a small proportion of the serious part of a congregation."[24] Curiously enough half a century later Alonzo Hill, Bancroft's successor, devoted his last sermon to a plea for greater participation. "What a widespread, what a growing decline in the observance...(of communion)." "... . and I make no exaggerated statement when I say that not more than one fourth of our protestant population is present in our _______ churches on the first sabbath of the year."[25] Twenty years earlier Hill had spoken in a similar vein at the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association.

> Allusion has been made to a great and growing irreverence for things sacred and venerable. The value of institutions has been called in question, which have hitherto been regarded as inviolable -- rites and ordinances are falling into disuse, once deemed necessary aids to a higher religious advance ....[26]

A similar indication is found in a funeral sermon for Calvin Lincoln, former minister at Fitchburg. "Mr. Lincoln was quite conservative in his views in relation to those institutions connected with the church from the earliest settlement of our country, some of which have come to be quite generally neglected."[27] By far the most pungent comment comes, however, from Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a Unitarian minister himself, who, for several years before the Civil War, served a radical church of abolitionists and come-outers in Worcester. In 1853 the Unitarians had held a conference in Worcester where the question of whether anyone should be excluded from communion had been discussed. Higginson preached a sermon to his congregation the next week in response to the convention and the questions it discussed.

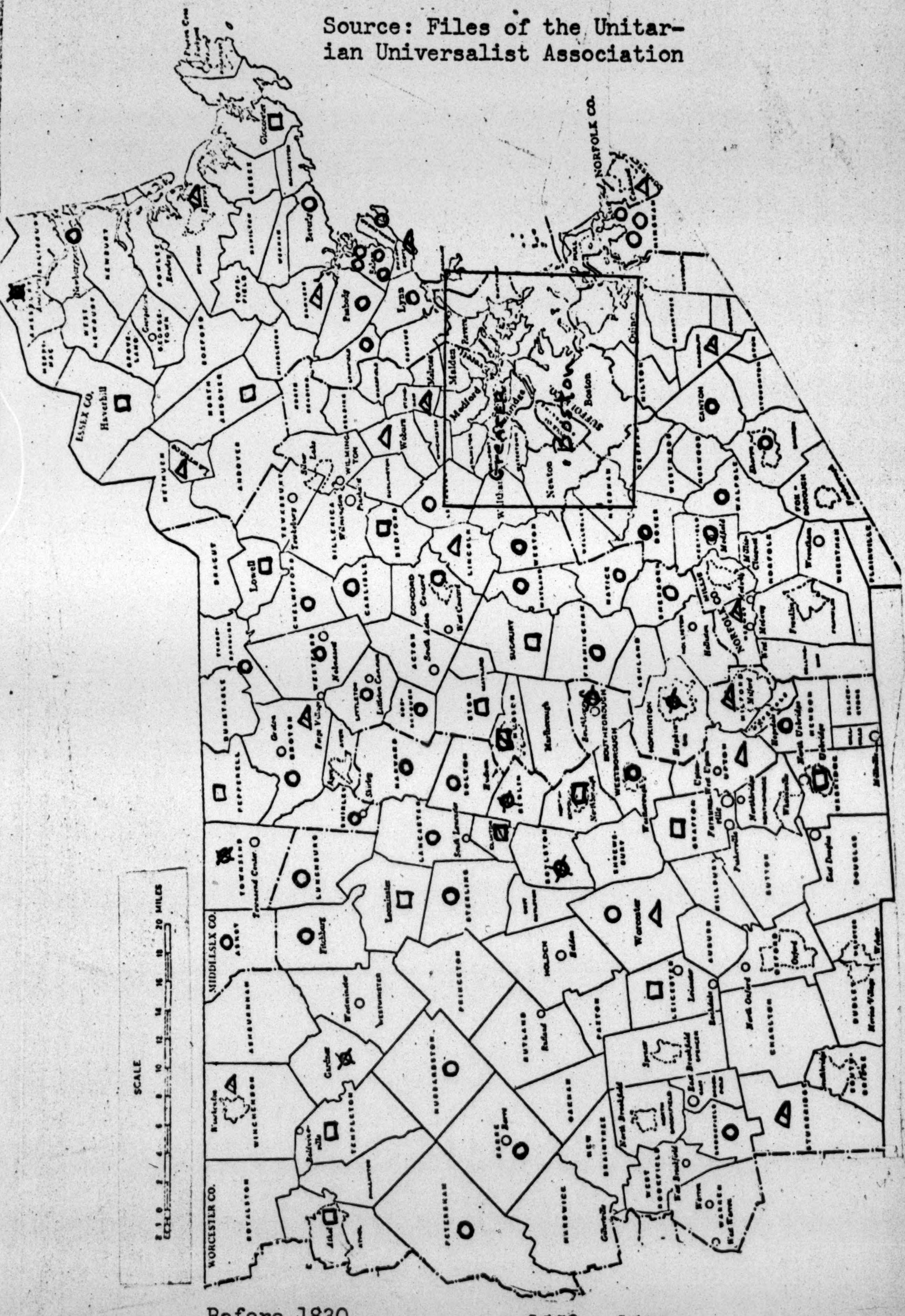
> Not one in a hundred of a congregation can be persuaded to come near enough to be excluded. It is the one great and unsatisfied aim of every young minister, for years, to get people in; and to add one male adult per annum is a great gain. It is said that not one young man out of fifteen belongs to the church. Not one in fifty I should say. The number dwindles every year..[28]

My examinatinn of the effect of the factor of population growth on Unitarianism in Massachusetts has shown that when considered only in terms of numbers the movement did not even remotely grow in proportion to the general population. At the same time I have found a tendency for Unitarian congregations to be associated with urban locations, even when these locations drew an increasing number of rural and foreign migrants who were unsympathetic with the movement. I have noted the necessity of adaptation to the new urban, impersonal situation of a social system which was created on a legal geographical basis for relatively small stable rural towns.

The result of the great growth in the number and heterogeneity of the population was to place Unitarianism even more on the defensive, an embattled minority with increasing doubts about its identity and its mission. Yet there is still the question: Why, even though membership did not grow, was it associated with urban communities and a high rate of general population increase?

MAP 4.
~~THE LOCATION OF UNITARIAN PARISHES~~
BY YEAR OF FOUNDING - Eastern Mass.

Source: Files of the Unitarian Universalist Association

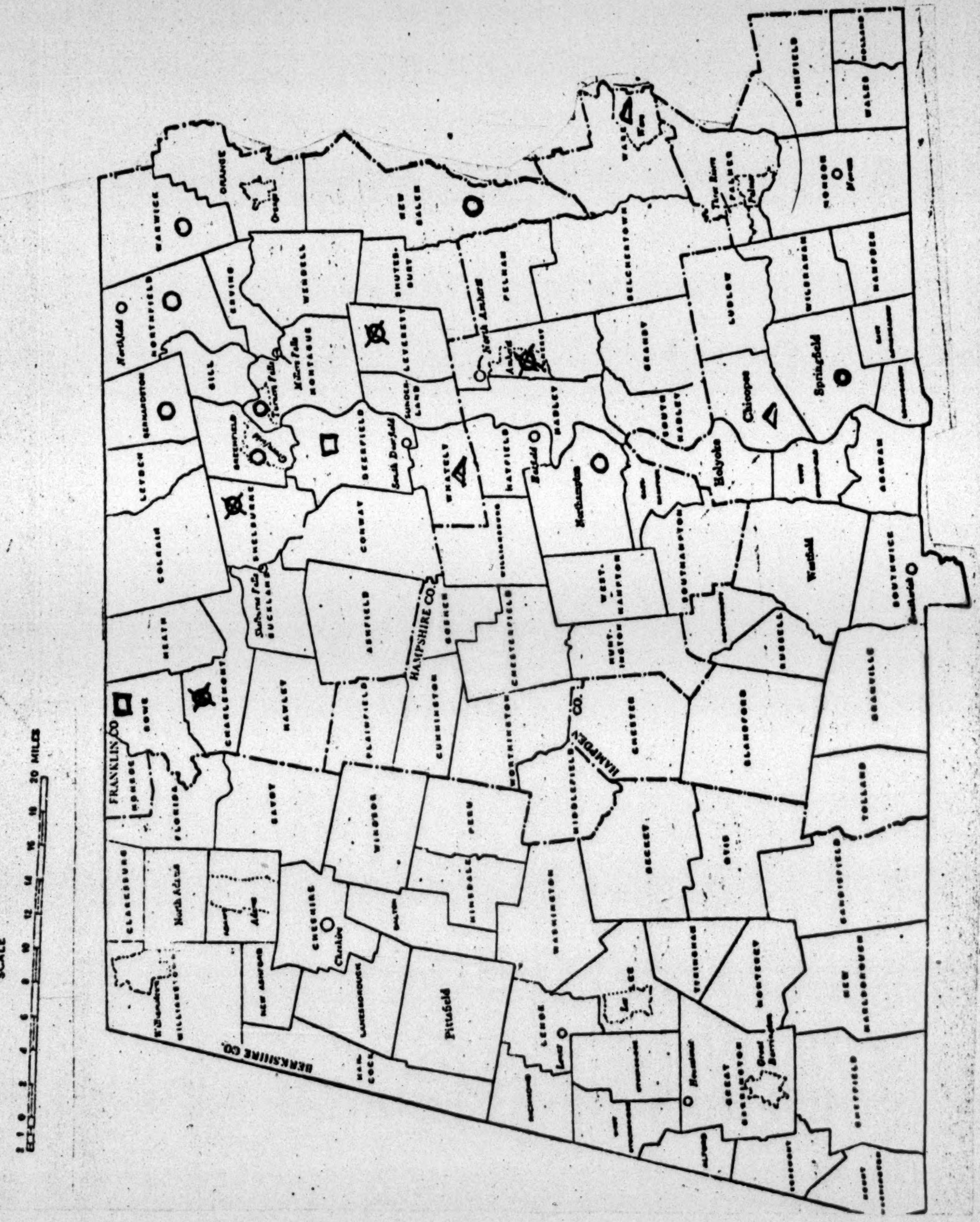

ESSEX CO.
Haverhill
Newburyport
Gloucester
Lynn
Malden
Medford
Boston
Newton
Woburn
Lowell
Concord
Marlborough
Lancaster
Leominster
Fitchburg
Worcester
NORFOLK CO.
MIDDLESEX CO.
WORCESTER CO.
SCALE
20 MILES

Before 1830
1830 - 1839
1840 - 1849
1840

1850 - 1859
1860 - 1869
Existing in 1847 but
not in 1870

MAP 5.
THE LOCATION OF UNITARIAN PARISHES BY YEAR OF FOUNDING - The Connecticut Valley and the Berkshires

Source: Files of the Unitarian Universalist Association

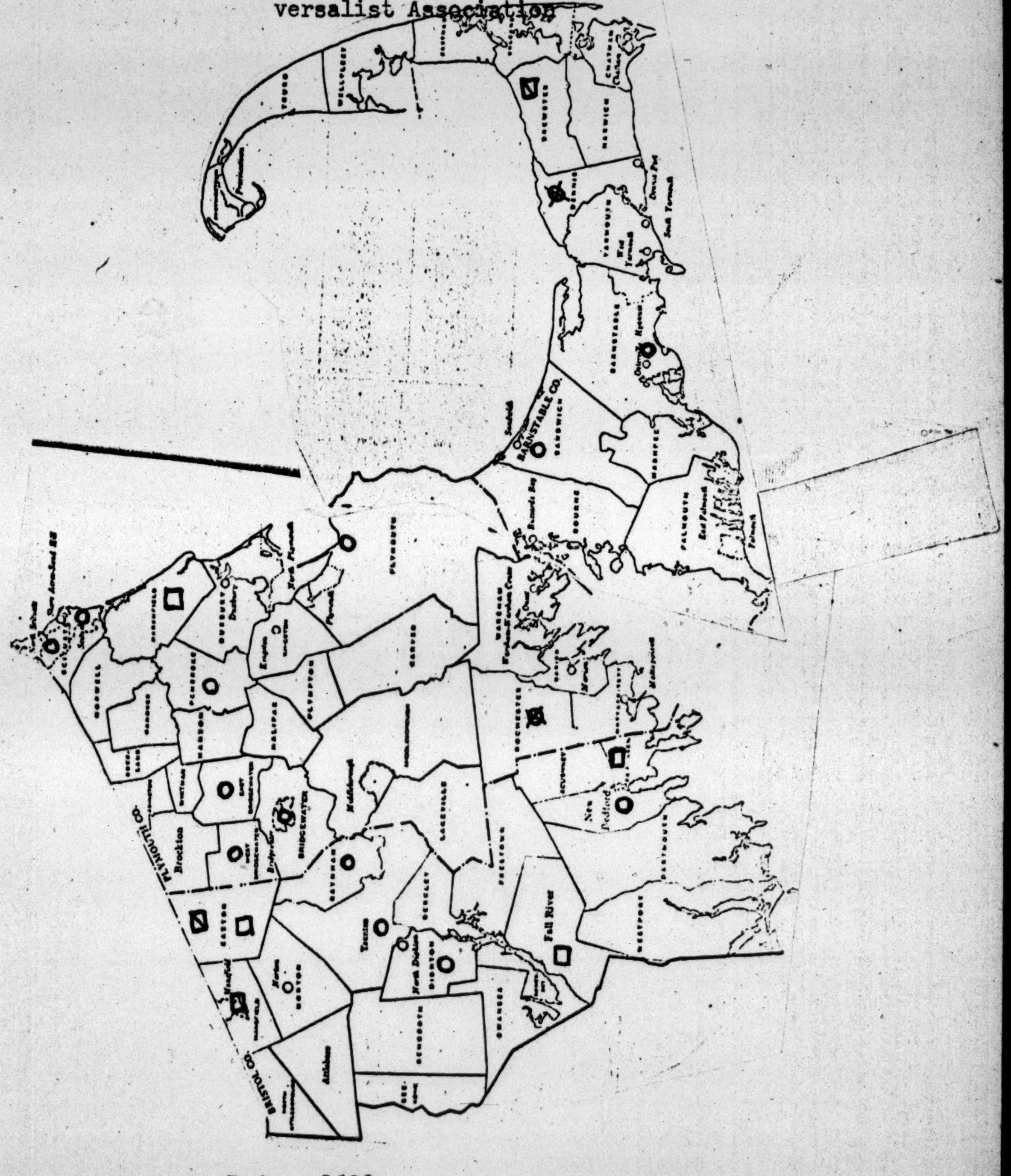

FRANKLIN CO.
HAMPSHIRE CO.
HAMPDEN
BERKSHIRE CO.
SCALE
20 MILES
Northfield
Greenfield
Amherst
Northampton
Holyoke
Chicopee
Springfield
Westfield
Pittsfield
North Adams
Adams
Cheshire

Before 1830
1830 - 1839
1840 - 1849

1850 - 1859
1860 - 1869
Existing in 1847 but not in 1870

MAP 6.
THE LOCATION OF UNITARIAN PARISHES BY YEAR OF FOUNDING - The Old Colony, Cape Cod, and Bristol

Source: Files of the Unitarian Universalist Association


BARNSTABLE CO.
PLYMOUTH CO.
BRISTOL CO.
Brockton
Bridgewater
Taunton
Fall River
New Bedford
Attleboro
Falmouth

Before 1830
1830 - 1839
1840 - 1849

1850 - 1859
1860 - 1869
Existing in 1847 but
not in 1870

Map 6
86

CHAPTER III - FOOTNOTES

[1] Unless otherwise noted the general statistics used in this chapter are from U.S. Census Office, *A Compendium of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870)* (Washington, D.C., 1872).

[2] Horace G.Wadlin, "The Growth of Cities in Massachusetts," *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. II (New Series: March, 1891), pp. 159-162.

[3] Percy W. Bidwell, "Population Growth in Southern New England, 1810-1860," *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. XV (New Series: Dec. 1917), p. 815.

[4] Bidwell, *Pub. Am. Stat. Assoc.*, 813.

[5] Bidwell, *Pub. Am. Stat. Assoc.*, 833-834.

[6] From "The Report of the Board of Directors of Internal Improvements of the State of Massachusetts, on the Practicability and Expediency of a Rail-road from Boston to the Hudson River, and from Boston to Providence" (1829), quoted in Edward C. Kirkland, *Men, Cities and Transportation: A Study of New England History, 1820-1900* (2 Vols.; Cambridge, Mass., 1948), I, p. 108.

[7] *Loring's Massachusetts Register or Record Book of Valuable Information, for the year 1847* (Boston, 1847). The *Register* is a valuable source of statistical information as well as for the names of government officials and officers and board members of various profit and non-profit corporations. It began publication around the turn of the century.

[8] Boston, 1870. Non-contributing churches are listed in *The Year-Book of the Unitarian Congregational Churches for 1870* (Boston, 1870).

[9] H.K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States, Enumerated, Classified, and Described on the basis of the government census of 1890* ("The American Church History Series," Vol. I; New York, 1893), p. xxxiii.

[10] New York, 1860.

[11] The parish figures and the church membership figures which appear in the latter part of this chapter were calculated in the following manner -- *Worcester*: Historical records of Second Parish and Unity Church are deposited in the Manuscript library of the American Antiquarian Society. Each year all members of the parish were listed and a tax assessed against their name in proportion to their real and personal property. Parish figures are derived from those lists for

the respective year, except 1866. Tax lists for that year are found in a separate booklet, "Taxes 1861 to 1866." Church membership was calculated from the "Membership Book and Records of the Second Church in Worcester from Dec. 1785 to March 1850. Baptisms 1785-1850." *Lowell*: from *Semi-Centennial Anniversary*. *Fall River*. Most records of the Fall River Unitarian Society are in the vault of the Union Savings Bank of Fall River. The "Statement of Association" signed by members in 1832 was used, as well as a letter of resignation to the Society by its minister in 1858 which includes membership figures. Also a notebook labelled "Pastoral Records of the Unitarian Church and Society in Fall River, Mass. 1840." Inside this book is a complete list of members as of January 4, 1858. *Springfield:* Humphreys' *Memorial of the First Half Century* includes an appendix listing those named in the original act of incorporation plus those who contributed the first year. Other figures are from *Unity Church Manual* (Springfield, 1886). *Fitchburg*: Documents are in the vault of the First Parish as well as at the Fitchburg Historical Society. Data for these figures are from tax and pew lists for the respective years found at the Historical Society. *Waltham*: The records are found in the vault of the First Parish. These include "Waltham Church Records -- 1809-1841," "Certificates" of pew deeds, Independent Congregational Society, 1839," "Parish Records, First Parish, Waltham, 1821-1840," "Church Records of the Second Religious Society in Waltham," "Parish Records. Independent Congregational Society of Waltham, 1838-1902."

[12] "The Christian Ministry in Large Cities," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches* (Boston, 1860), pp.33, 35-36. An interesting commentary on similar lines may be found in Henry W. Bellows, "The Social Changes Affecting the Ecclesiastical Life of New-England Towns," *The Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association,* Vol. VI (September and October 1865), pp. 380-390, 439-447.

[13] Hale, "The Christian Ministry," 31-32. The Rev. David Fosdick commented on the effect on Boston Unitarianism of internal migration in a letter to *The Christian Register*, January 15, 1848. Ezra Stiles Gannet, "Present Position of Unitarianism," *Christian Examiner*, Vol. XXXVI (May and July, 1844) pp.397-411, 106-118, also notes the relative decline of the movement due to this factor, and the evangelical counter attack.

[14] Daniel T. McColgan, *Joseph Tuckerman, Pioneer in American Social Work* (Washington, D.C., 1940), p. 71.

[15] Charles Brooks, *History of the Town of Medford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, From its First Settlement, in 1630, to the Present Time, 1855* (Boston, 1855), p. 248.

[16] "Thirty-second Anniversary of the American Unitarian Association," *The Quarterly Journal of the American Unitarian Association*, Vol. IV (July, 1857), p. 480.

[17] "Thirty-first Anniversary of the American Unitarian Association," *The Quarterly Journal*, Vol III (July, 1856), p. 556.

[18] *The Twenty-sixth Report of the American Unitarian Association, with the Addresses at the Anniversary, May 27, 1851.* (Boston, 1851), p. 17.

[19] *The Twenty-seventh Report of the American Unitarian Association, May 25, 1852* (Boston, 1852), p. 11.

[20] Wright, 128-129.

[21] Katz, 178.

[22] "Topographical Description," 284.

[23] Letter to his mother, February 20, 1849.

[24] "The Institutions of the Gospel," *Sermons on Those Doctrines of the Gospel, and on those Constituent Principles of the Church, which Christian Professors have made the subject of Controversy* (Worcester, 1822), p. 376.

[25] "The Last Sermon by Dr. Alonzo Hill, Oct. 1, 1865, First Unitarian Church, Worcester, Mass," MS, American Antiquarian Society.

[26] *The Sixteenth Report of the American Unitarian Association, with the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, May 30, 1837* (Boston, 1837), p. 24.

[27] Rufus Stebbins, *Reverend Calvin Lincoln*. *Sermon preached in the Old Meeting-House, Hingham, Sunday, September 18, 1881.... with a sketch by a parishioner* (Hingham, 1882), p. 62.

[28] *The Unitarian Autumnal Convention, A Sermon* (Boston, 1853), p. 8.

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECT OF THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM ON THE RELIGIOUS SOCIAL SYSTEM

The real beginning of manufacturing in America was in 1791. In that year the Quaker merchants William Almy and Moses Brown opened a machine spinning mill at Providence, Rhode Island. The work force consisted of nine children. Its manager was the Englishman, Samuel Slater. For many years this was the only financially successful operation of its kind in the United States. By 1801 one hundred children between the ages of four and ten were employed, all in one room, so only one overseer was needed. About 1800 these small mills began to be built elsewhere, often by former employees of Almy and Brown. Since it was the force of water which powered the machinery, the mills were situated at water power sites on small rivers and streams. The rivers emptying into the Narragansett Basin, such as the Blackstone, proved ideal locations. They combined nearness to the supplies brought by sea with an adequate amount of power. "The labor supply of these yarn mills came chiefly from the farms of the vicinity whence children could easily be attracted by a wage from thirty-three to sixty-seven cents a week." While the sites of such mills often developed into villages they were in no sense urban. Such urban centers were seaports such as Boston, New Bedford and Salem, which became the markets for the yarn. For the most part weaving was done entirely in households, not in the factory.[1]

As an economic organization employing large numbers of people the factory did not appear until the perfecting of the power loom by Francis Cabot Lowell and Paul Moody during the War of 1812. The loom required more power than the spinning mills, and the factory more operatives. There were fewer suitable sites. Labor was both expensive and in short supply, as well as somewhat prejudiced against industrialism. Lowell decided to build his first factory on the Charles River at the falls in Waltham, and to recruit a workforce made up primarily of country girls who would be attracted to the town temporarily by the high wages and good working and living conditions. The factory was ready to go into production in February 1815. The first goods were not sold, though, until September. The enterprise met with immediate financial success, and was soon producing "thirty-miles of cloth per day." Nathan Appleton, reminiscing about F.C. Lowell, noted that "He used to say, that the only circumstance which made him distrust his own calculations was, that he could bring them to no other result but one which was too favorable to be credible."[2]

The outstanding success of this first enterprise soon led to the construction of new mills. Since the Charles River did not offer enough power for expansion, the Boston Associates sought land by falls on the Merrimac River and planned an entire new city, Lowell. There the first wheel was in motion in 1823, and three more mills were immediately under construction. By 1825 dividends on the Lowell investment were 12 per cent a year. By 1830 what had a decade earlier been an open field was now an industrial town of 6,474 people, one of the largest in the state. By 1839 there had been invested through joint stock companies more than $12,000,000. "One thing is certain, manufactures cannot be carried on to any extent in this country in any other manner than by joint stock companies. A large capital is necessary to success. Individuals possessing sufficient capital will not give themselves up to this pursuit. It is contrary to the genius of the country."[3]

The rapid growth of the textile industry was the chief impetus behind urbanization. Not only were cities of operatives built, but these workers had to purchase the staples of life and services necessary to them, since they were employed in the mills twelve hours a day. They had no time to farm, or build, or be self-sufficient. Thus the farmers were provided with consumers, merchants with customers, and related industries, such as heavy machinery, with industrial markets. The whole fabric of modern urban industrial life came into being within about two decades.

This growth was not entirely dependent upon industry itself. The marketing of goods mass-manufactured, as well as the acquisition of raw material, depended on an adequate transporation network. Sometimes geography played a vital role too. Thus Fall River, while the site of considerable water power, did not begin its eventual extensive development until the factories changed from water to steam power. The mouth of the Taunton River where Fall River was located was ideal for the newer large ships which brought coal from Pennsylvania, and which could not go far up the shallow Taunton or Merrimac Rivers.

It was the railroad which opened both the interior of Massachusetts for immigration and industrial investment, and which made available the great American interior as a market. "On June 5, 1830 the state incorporated the Boston and Lowell and before the end of the following June issued charters to the Boston and Providence and the Boston and Worcester." By 1841 the Western Railroad was open to Albany. The Western, which was the first transectional railroad, opened the markets of the West to New England, and made of Boston and the cities along the way important commercial and immigration as well as manufacturing centers for the internal trade. Soon all of Massachusetts was connected by rail, and growth followed the development of the transporation network. Members of all our parishes were deeply involved in both the financing and management of the railroad. Kirkland reports that of 39 of the hundred nineteenth century New England railroad leaders whom he studied, and for whom information was available, 30 were divided equally between the Congregationalists and the Unitarians. They were nearly 3 to 1 Whigs and Republicans, rather than Democrats.[4]

A Worcester Unitarian, in this case a librarian, left his reaction to the arrival of the railroad near Worcester, August 1, 1834.

> I saw today for the first time a Rail Way Car. What an object of wonder! How marvellous it is in every particular! It appears like a thing of life. The cars came out from Boston with about an hundred passengers, and performed the journey, which is thirteen miles, in forty-three minutes. I cannot describe the strange sensations produced on seeing the train of cars come up. And when I started in them for Boston, it seemed like a dream. I blessed my stars that such a man as Robert Fulton had lived to confer on his fellow mortals an improvement so valuable as his application of steam engines to driving boats, and that this had suggested the application of the same power to moving carriages on land.[5]

Examples of the indirect effect of the railroad on urbanization are seen in the cases of Fitchburg, Springfield and Worcester. Until 1840 Fitchburg grew slowly, showing a population in that year of 2,604. The railroad reached there in 1845 and by 1850 the population was 5,120, having nearly doubled in the decade. The same was true of Springfield. "With the completion of this road (The Western) Springfield's importance increased very rapidly." The case of Worcester is similar. "The growth...was very slow until 1830, but with the completion of the Boston and Worcester railway, in 1835, Worcester entered upon her period of prosperity." Three hundred new buildings were erected in Worcester in about two years.[6]

In one sense, then, the social change of which urbanization is an example, was the result of technological innovation. However, it would be a mistake to attribute to such innovation exclusive causative efficacy. Innovation of a technological nature could not have been exploited without other kinds of essentially social innovation as well, including innovation in legal forms, enacted social systems, business methods, and even changes in values, especially those related to status. Manufactures had hitherto been associated with crafts, and was therefore of less status than trade or the professions. Furthermore the construction of large factories or railroads required the accumulation of much larger amounts of capital than had previously been common.

> Just as in the past special privileges had been conferred on the great trading companies for the purpose of developing new trade in foreign countries, so a monopoly of a certain area or service was granted to the new industrial corporations in return for exploring the new sources of wealth in large-scale factory production. There were other incidental benefits in the corporate organization: the delegation of authority to selected agents and personnel, a more advanced system of bookkeeping, with controlled budget, cost accounting, and auditing, and the assembling of large amounts of capital, which permitted certain economies in manufacturing.[7]

The joint stock company developed its modern form gradually, only acquiring such modern advantages as limited liability after 1830. Initially however such corporations were created by special enactment of the legislature and reflected a public interest in economic development as well as a way in which capital from many sources could be combined.

The industrial corporation was only one of the forms of enacted social systems which was spawned by industrialization. Banks and insurance companies developed also, and played a significant part insofar as through loans or investments they provided the capital for industrialization. The Massachusetts Register for 1802 lists only seven banks in Massachusetts, the oldest being the Massachusetts Bank in Boston, incorporated in 1784. All seven banks were in seaports. By 1820 there were 42 banks, most of them still either in Boston or other seaports. By 1830, however, the Register lists 66 banks, with the majority outside the seaport towns. Insurance companies developed rapidly in Massachusetts, especially after 1820 when the legislature passed a law permitting them to conduct business outside the state.[8] The most important of these was the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, chartered in 1818, which by 1830 was the largest financial institution in New England, and which remained so until after 1900. "The company became probably the most important single source of intermediate term credit for the Massachusetts textile industry during the nineteenth century."[9]

Industrialization, and therefore most urbanization, depended not only on technological innovation, but social system innovation and the enactment of new structures to sustain the complex facets of industrial organization. From the beginning the system was highly rationalized, with very little left to chance. Not only did Francis Cabot Lowell create the machinery, but he foresaw and created the conditions necessary to attract labor, capital and management. When Lowell was built the same pattern was followed. The enterprise was much more an enterprise in rational social planning than merely technological innovation. It was the creation of merchants, not mechanics. Mechanics were employees, not social innovators. The character of those merchant-industrialists who were social innovators is the important question. "Only the most far-sighted could see, with Lowell, that the industrial baron might some day rank with the merchant prince instead of being numbered among the more successful artisans."[10] Those sociologists who have developed theories of social change based too exclusively on technological innovation should consider Ware's words:

> These men relied not on their technical knowledge of production but on business organization, executive capacity, and their ability to lure the best talent in every field. This fact in itself was one reason for their success, for it left them unconcerned with detail and free to organize and plan, to finance their companies, market their produce, and consider the social as well as the productive problem involved in their hiring of labor.[11]

Those primarily responsible for the development of the Massachusetts textile industry were commonly known as " the Boston Associates." The best known, apart from Lowell himself, were Patrick Tracy Jackson, Nathan Appleton, various Lowell and Appleton relatives, and later, Abbott and Amos Lawrence. They were a relatively small, homogeneous group, in many cases related to one another. "The Boston Manufacturing Company was almost exclusively a family affair."[12] Virtually all of them were Unitarian Congregationalists, rather explicit in their theological opinions.[13] The diary of one of them, Amos Lawrence, is almost a caricature of those values and attitudes which Weber and others have termed "the Protestant Ethic."[14] Moralism, self-discipline, piety, this-worldly asceticism, all could be justly attributed to Amos Lawrence. From his arrival in Boston in 1807 with $20 in his pocket, his whole life was disciplined. Sunday was given to religious attendance. He did not drink or smoke. Every hour of the day was budgeted. He saw himself as a steward. "As our stewardship has been faithful or otherwise, will be the sentence pronounced upon us..." "We are placed here to be disciplined for another and higher state; and whatever happens to us makes a part of this discipline...What I am more desirous than anything else for you is, that you may feel that you are accountable for all your talents, and that you may so use them as to have an approving conscience, and the final recompense of a faithful servant at last. The period of trial is short; but the consequences are never-ending." His interest in death led him to initiate the creation of Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Boston. He gave lots next to his own to his minister, Dr. Lothrop, to the Rev. Daniel Sharp, and had the body of the early Boston liberal clergyman, the Rev. J.S. Buckminster moved near his own. In the course of his life he gave about $700,000 to charity. Early in his life he had adopted the motto "Business before friends!"[15]

What characterized these men was their ability to rationalize not only their personal lives, but their enterprises. They were willing to take risks, but only on the basis of calculation and planning. The rational computation of profit and loss according to capital invested was more vital to them than technological imagination, which, by and large, they left to the specialists. They were executives and managers of men. "Division of labor had been carried a step further by the separation of the executive function from the activities of production."[16] For the most part they did not even live in the towns where their factories were located. They lived in Boston. Their natural haunts were the exchange, the counting room, and the legislative hall. They spent very little time with machinery, and a great deal of time in board and committee meetings.

It would not be too much to assert that their accomplishments transcended their ability to rationalize. The evidence is overwhelming that as a group they wished to avoid the consequences of European industrialism. They did not wish to develop a permanent working class, or a class of dependent poverty-stricken laborers. As persons, they disliked the industrial city. Politically they tended to be Federalists, thirty years after the Federalist Party was dead. It would perhaps be true to state that they embodied a paradox. Their conservatism was an expression of their desire to rationalize all of life. They were moralists because they condemned the undisciplined expression of life in themselves and others. Yet their very impulse to rationalize, to plan and manipulate was in itself the most revolutionary force of the time. It inevitably created unexpected and therefore unrationalized contingencies over which they had no control, and which they could do nothing but condemn. Yet they condemned in the name of the greatest force for change in contemporary history, the name of Reason. Might men who were attempting to rationalize the temporal, also be attracted to a faith which rationalized the eternal? An impulsive and humanly incomprehensible, i.e. irrational God, such as the God of Calvinism, was just as intolerable as an impulsive and irrational fellow citizen. "Puritanism re-echoed the old watchwords: Rationalize life; keep the passions under control; let reason dominate the natural inclinations."[17] Should these descendants of Puritans allow their God to violate His own values?

Initially they assumed that the new socio-economic systems they were introducing would not effect the traditional New England religious social system. When they built their factories at Waltham and Lowell they considered the religious needs of the operatives, whom they expected to be rural New Englanders, and sought to provide for their needs in the customary fashion. They felt that such religious provisions would guarantee a much more effective labor force. As Amos Lawrence wrote to one of his agents: "The more you can impress your people with a sense of religious obligation, the better they will serve you."[18] It should be added that initially corporations were liable for taxes to support the religious establishment just as were all other local property owners.[19]

In Waltham, and to a lesser degree in Lowell, it is possible to observe the effect of the new industrial system and the population changes which accompanied it, on traditional patterns. Before 1810 Waltham was an entirely agricultural community. Farmers, most of whom lived in the northern part of the town, raised products with an eye to the Boston market. In 1810 a spinning mill was established, incorporated in 1812 as the "Waltham Cotton and Woolen Manufacturing Company." It employed about 200 operatives, 150 of whom were women and children, coming from about 20 families. The "Boston Manufacturing Company," which we have discussed above, was incorporated in 1813. The two concerns were situated about a mile apart. For convenience most of the families working in the manufactories settled in an area of the town along the river known as "the Plain." "A very considerable portion of the inhabitants live upon the Plain, it being better situated, than any other part of the town, for mechanics, tradesmen, and manufacturers."[20] This section was located, however, at some distance from the church, which had been built somewhat to the north, more convenient for the population of farmers which had constituted the entire population at the time of its construction. Furthermore there appears to have been hard feelings between the farming population and the manufacturing population. "As one old resident put it 'it was a contest for location between the farm aristocracy and the mill aristocracy.'"[21] "The success of the Boston Manufacturing Company made a great change in the character of the town. In the decade between 1810 and 1820 the population increased nearly 60 per cent and as nearly all of the new families lived on or south of the Great Road the farmers of the north and west parts could no longer control the doings of the town."[22] When the population grew too large for the single church building, there was a conflict over the new location. As a result a new parish was formed. The First Parish, whose minister was Ralph Waldo Emerson's uncle, Samuel Ripley, remained that of the farmers and of certain "gentlemen" who spent the summer on their country estates, including Christopher Gore, former governor of Massachusetts, and Theodore Lyman, merchant-trader. The Second Parish consisted of the managers and operatives of the factories. The new church was substantially paid for by the Boston Manufacturing Company, which purchased twenty of the eighty pews.[23] It also contributed the communion silver. All employees of the company had $2.00 per year deducted from their salary for the support of the church, though there is some indication that this practice was adopted only after voluntary contributions did not prove adequate and the financial burden for current expenses fell directly on the company.[24] Both a parish organization and a church were founded.

In 1820 an orthodox Congregational minister was called by the parish with the provision that he could be given six months notice of termination upon vote of two-thirds of the members. This minister, the Rev. Sewall Harding, served until 1825 when he was dismissed by a vote of 62 to 15. He remained in Waltham, however, founding the Trinitarian Congregationalist Church, initially consisting of fourteen members of Second Parish who supported him and apparently almost the entire church of the Second Parish.[25] This local version of the more general Unitarian Controversy agitating Massachusetts Congregationalism at the time occasioned several years of published controversy from both sides. It is not evident, however, that his dismissal was entirely due to the Unitarians. The records of First Parish show that between 1823 and 1826 twenty-seven persons transferred from Second to First parish, which was explicitly Unitarian, and there is some suggestion that a few may have transferred back before Mr. Harding's dismissal. At any rate the transfers end in 1826.[26] A letter published in the Christian Register, September 15, 1827, from a writer described as one "who belongs to another denomination of Christians," that is, not a Unitarian, described the conflict in terms of pulpit exchange expectations.

> The society was composed of a fair proportion of Calvinists, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians and Universalists, and it was expected of their pastor, that he would be willing to exchange with clergymen of other denominations: In this

> they were disappointed, for none but orthodox preachers could in any wise be admitted into their pulpit, as long as Mr. H. had control of it. It should be remembered that there was a combination of four different sects, in favor of his dismissal.

It would seem then that the problem was satisfying a heterodox congregation with one kind of Christian orthodoxy, when they were all forced to support the parish through salary deductions.

After Mr. Harding was dismissed the parish called the Rev. Bernard Whitman as its minister, and a new church was founded in the parish to replace the one which had withdrawn with Mr. Harding. Bernard Whitman was the first member, and the second was Mr. Ebenezer Hobbs, formerly of the First Parish, resident manager of the Boston Manufacturing Company. The covenant of the new church was traditional.

> We, the subscribers, believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and the Savior of the world, and that the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God and perfect rule of faith and obedience. We desire thankfully to accept salvation, through Jesus Christ, in the way prescribed in the Gospel; resolving, by the help of divine grace to live in obedience to his holy commands — looking for the mercy of God unto eternal life.
>
> We promise to walk with this church as we have opportunity in a regular attendance on christian ordinances, in the exercise of christian affection, and in a submission to the discipline of the church — in so far as appears to us to be our duty.[27]

Bernard Whitman became one of the chief Unitarian apologists of the next decade. He was one of fourteen children of a poor Massachusetts farmer. Apprenticed as a youth to the owner of a spinning mill in Mansfield, Massachusetts, he saved enough to partially educate himself and train for the ministry. Waltham was his first and only parish. He served from 1826 to 1834 when he died from tuberculosis at the age of 38. He edited two magazines, published numerous tracts and sermons, and one book, Village Sermons

Doctrinal and Practical.[28] As a missionary for the American Unitarian Association he travelled extensively all over New England and in the American South and West. In 1833 he was appointed General Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, but his congregation refused to allow him to leave. Unlike Channing and most of the Boston Unitarians his talents were not literary. His sermons still read well today, and are unusual because they are written in very aggressive, plain, unadorned language. Apparently he was an appropriate choice for a parish of operatives. He spoke to persuade ordinary people. "It is not," he said, "it is not to give information, it is to awaken attention that we preach."[29]

Despite Whitman Unitarianism apparently did not prosper among the operatives of the Boston Manufacturing Company though there does not appear to have been the controversy of the Harding period. When the Second Parish church burned in 1829 there was discussion of joining First Parish, but finally a new church was built. After Whitman's death another minister served briefly, but in 1839 the membership voted to merge with First Parish. Apparently too many of the operatives belonged to Methodist, Baptist or Congregational churches. Some indication of the rivalries is given in another church history.

> There was a discussion among the people who worshipped in the Second Unitarian Church...with reference to the continuation or dissolution of that Society. The Universalists were well nigh in the majority, and were anticipating the time when they could control the house and supply the pulpit. Of two evils Dr. Hobbs, agent of the Boston Manufacturing Company, preferred the Methodists as the least, as they would take fewer numbers from the old Unitarian Society. He made proposals to Dr. Kittredge to sell the church to the

> Methodists for $3000. After due consideration Dr. Kittredge accepted the proposal, and meeting the Unitarian committee at Dr. Hobb's house, gave a note for the sum named, signed by himself and Rev. George Pickering.[30]

Despite the variety of religious points of view in the town it does not appear that any group grew quickly. Thus, while there were Methodists in Waltham as early as 1794, they did not grow enough to purchase a church until 1839.[31] The Baptist church was not founded until 1852.[32] The chronological sequence of denominational development in the town was as follows: First Parish, 1696; Second Parish, 1821; Trinitarian Congregational Church, 1826; Methodist Society, 1837; Universalist Society, 1839; Episcopal Church, 1849; Baptist Society, 1852.[33] It is worth noting that the growth of both the Baptists and Methodists in Massachusetts depended to a considerable extent on the same urbanizing trends as did the Unitarian growth.

Apparently the newly merged Unitarian Parish experienced problems of combining groups of adherents from widely different social strata. The Rev. Samuel Ripley wrote to Mary Moody Emerson in January 1839.

> Our new church is finished and will be dedicated in a few weeks...Who will be the junior minister we do not know, as none yet appears who will be likely to suit the heterogeneous mass that will compose the society. I do not look forward to any comfort or satisfaction in the relation which I may sustain to it, as some of my best friends and firmest adherents do not join the society, and perhaps may remain at the old church.[34]

Whether Ripley was referring to the "landed gentry" of Waltham, perhaps to Theodore Lyman, a close friend, I do not know. It is certain that the parish had a serious problem accommodating a diversity of the population.

The merged Unitarian parish prospered during the ministry of the Rev. Thomas Hill. Hill, who served from 1845 to 1859, was an accomplished scholar and mathematician. He left Waltham to succeed Horace Mann as president of Antioch, and became president of Harvard College in 1862.[35] A random sample of new members during his pastorate still indicates considerable diversity, including both farmers and others, such as a trader, a chemist and a lawyer.[36]

It is doubtful whether there were many factory workers. Still I wonder whether it was a coincidence that the prosperity of the church coincided with the growth of the town? Between 1840 and 1860 the population nearly tripled as new factories located there, a large watch company, and a crayon factory among them. The reservoir of potential members was not the major working force of operatives so much as the merchants and professionals.

The history of the relation of industry and religion in Lowell is somewhat different. Initially the Boston Associates encouraged the establishment of a religious society in Lowell, but because their Agent, Kirk Boott, was an Anglican, the first religious society at his behest was Anglican as well. It was organized as the Merrimac Religious Society in 1824. St. Anne's church was completed in 1825, the Merrimac Company contributing $9,000 towards its construction.[37] An Episcopal minister, the Rev. Theodore Edson, was called to serve it. As in Waltham, all of the employees of the company supported the parish through salary deductions. Anglicanism was not at that time common in Massachusetts and was opposed by Congregationalists, both orthodox and Unitarian.

> The first church edifice built in Lowell was St. Anne's. It was built under Kirk Boott's reign; and, without regard to the difference of the religious opinions of the operatives, the Episcopal form of service was adopted. Every operative on the Merrimac corporation was obliged to pay thirty-seven and a half cents a month toward the support of this church. This was considered unjust by the help, many of whom were "dissenters," and they complained so loudly at the extortion, which was not in the contract, that the tax was soon discontinued.[38]

Other societies were soon founded on a voluntary basis: Congregational, Methodist and Baptist in 1826, Universalist in 1827, Unitarian in 1830, and Roman Catholic in 1831. The relation between the Merrimac Company and the Episcopal church eventuated in a law suit through which the church was forced to pay $29,000 for the church and parsonage. Doctrinal feeling and denominational morale were high, and while there was some practical cooperation between the churches, for the most part they barely tolerated one another. The corporations, following their earlier difficulties, remained aloof from denominational competition, except to assist in the founding of a Catholic church for the new and poverty stricken Irish immigrants.[39]

These two studies of the relation between the new industrial corporations and the established religious social system suggest the following: First the corporation owners sought to encourage the practice of religion among their operatives. In part this was due to problems of attracting labor. Through emphasis on traditional New England religion they hoped to reassure both the girls and their parents about the moral security of factory work. Secondly, they were relatively indifferent to the particular denominational form of their parishes. Although they were mostly Unitarians, they permitted an orthodox Congregational church to be established in Waltham and an Episcopal church in Lowell. In this they were consistent, for they were not dogmatic Unitarians. As Amos Lawrence wrote in a letter to a Scotch Presbyterian minister: "There is much, I think, that may be safely laid aside among Christians who are honest, earnest, and self-denying. Again I say, I have no hope in isms, but have strong hope in the cross of Christ."[40] Thirdly, when the First Parish could not accommodate the operatives, as in Waltham, or where there was no close church, as at Lowell, they founded a new parish, expecting all operatives to attend it, and through deductions from wages to support it. They were thus adapting the system of taxation used in ordinary parishes to the new industrial situation in which the operatives, for the most part, lived in dormatories, and did not own property. They tried to adapt the established social system to the new conditions. In this they failed. They failed despite the fact that in both cases they established churches with traditional theological points of view. Conflict, then, was not merely between Unitarian and orthodox, it was between different orthodoxies, and one orthodoxy was unable to satisfy another. Urbanism apparently accentuated the variety of religious needs and alternatives that already existed, if for no other reason than that it brought together such large numbers of people that for the first time there were enough of them in any one particular denomination to establish a separate church. Fourthly, the Waltham experiment showed that without force of law the Unitarian faith could not attract members of the laboring classes. While it could attract farmers, the farmers resented the presence of the operatives, and the landed gentry resented the presence of the factory managers. In Lowell the churches of the operatives were the first founded on a voluntary basis, the Congregational, Methodist and Baptist. Unitarianism came later and attracted the professionals, merchants and managers. The immediate success of the Unitarian parish in Lowell indicates that where there was an adequate population base within certain strata of society the Unitarian system could prosper. Finally both the Waltham and Lowell experiments demonstrated that religion and industry need not be formally involved with one another. Such religious paternalism on the part of management was not acceptable to the workers. The status of management was not transferrable to religious institutions. Thus the industrial corporation came to limit itself to entirely secular concerns. With its exemption from religious taxation in 1831 this was assured.

Despite the intrinsic interest of the experiments of the Boston Associates in founding religious institutions, the most significant effects of the industrialization of Massachusetts on the religious systems after these first experiments had failed, were more indirect and uncalculated. These effects may be summarized as follows in so far as the establishment was concerned.

The influx of large numbers of people caused the disintegration of the geographical parish system. Customarily the minister was shepherd of all inhabitants. Physically the meeting house was constructed to accommodate all inhabitants. As has already been indicated in First Parish, Waltham, and as would also be true in First Parish, Fitchburg, soon numbers were too great for either minister or meeting house.

The influx of large numbers of people, most of whom did not own property, and who therefore could not be taxed to support the church, contributed to the disintegration of the traditional system of financial support. When it proved impossible to deduct church expenses from wages, a new system had to be developed. Church support fell to the middle and upper classes.

Formerly there had been only two important organized social groups within the boundaries of the town: the town government, and the parish. These were the centers of public interest. The rise of the industrial corporation and its supporting institutions expanded the number of wealthy and powerful social systems. These provided a basis for the exercise of power and the acquisition of prestige, since they were publicly enacted institutions which transcended the individuals who ran them. The parish as a social system became one social system among many, its minister lost power and prestige, and as a specific system in comparison to the new systems, the religious institution became of secondary importance.

The geographical mobility engendered by urbanization brought many new inhabitants to towns which had been stable in terms of population for a century. As in Waltham, the old inhabitants were threatened by the influx and resented the newcomers. In many cases First Parishes became exclusive havens for old residents and newcomers were forced to found their own societies or remain unchurched.

Gradually the composition of parish membership changed. Manufacturers and traders dominated, taking the place that farmers and professionals formerly had occupied. As I shall show in the next chapter, this constituted an important difference between Arminianism and classical Unitarianism.

As the church became a system subsidiary to the great industrial institutions which were growing up around it, it grew vulnerable to the same threats which affected those institutions. Thus the Fall River Society nearly went bankrupt because of the panic of 1837. Other parishes lost members during recessions who resigned to avoid paying parish assessments. As the economy became increasingly dependent upon money as the medium of exchange, money became a standard of value, not only of things, but people. Parishes became dependent upon the wealthy. Little attempt was made to reach those without money. Whereas before all inhabitants had perforce supported the parish, now it was subject to the control of a much narrower class of laymen whose status was gained by achievement within the secular systems. In the popular mind the specific religious systems were often identified with the prominent families who attended. Joseph Tuckerman wrote in 1838 that "even the literally poor find far freer access to the houses of worship of the Baptists, the Methodists, and to those of the Christian denomination, than to those of our Orthodox Congregationalists, or Episcopalians, or Unitarians."[41] The study of changes in the class composition of Unitarian parishes which follows will help substantiate my argument.

Footnotes - CHAPTER IV

[1] The rise of American manufactures is described in many text books on American economic history. Probably the best study of the early textile industry is still Caroline F.Ware, The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Study in Industrial Beginnings (Boston: 1931). For references here see Ware, pp.21, 29.

[2] Quoted by Josephson, Golden Threads, 28.

[3] Appleton, Introduction of the Power Loom, 25, 30.

[4] Kirkland, Men Cities and Transportation, 111, 135.

[5] Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, 316.

[6] U.S. Census Office, Report on the Social Statistics of Cities (Washington, D.C.: 1886) pp 202, 308, 336. See also Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Naming of Worcester, October 14 and 15, 1884 (Worcester: 1885), p. 146.

[7] Josephson, 25. See also Oscar and M.F. Handlin, Commonwealth: A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy: Massachusetts (Cambridge, Mass., 1947); Oscar and Mary Handlin, "Origins of the American Business Corporation," The Journal of Economic History, V (May, 1945), pp 1 - 23; William C. Kessler, "Incorporation in New England: A Statistical Study, 1800-1875," The Journal of Economic History, VIII (May, 1948), pp 43 - 62; E. Merrick Dodd, "The Evolution of Limited Liability in Massachusetts," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, 1947), LXVIII, pp 228-256.

[8] Kessler, JEH, 55.

[9] Gerald T. White, A History of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 5.

[10] Ware, 62.

[11] Ware, 62.

[12] Josephson, 26.

[13] Charles Lowell, F.C. Lowell's brother, was a Unitarian minister. See Extracts from the Diary and Correspondence of the Late Amos Lawrence with a Brief Account of Some Incidents in His Life, William R. Lawrence, ed.(Boston, 1855); Robert C. Winthrop, Memoir of the Hon. Nathan Appleton, LL.D. (Boston, 1861); Hamilton A. Hill, Memoir of Abbott Lawrence (Boston, 1883).

[14] Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Talcott Parsons, trans. (New York, 1958), p.154.

[15] Diary of Amos Lawrence, 107.

[16] Ware, 78. The risks these men took have been exaggerated. See W. Paul Strassman, Risk and Technological Innovation: American Manufacturing Methods During the Nineteenth Century (Ithaca, New York, 1956).

[17] Werner Sombart, The Quintessence of Capitalism (New York, 1915), p. 256.

[18] Diary of Amos Lawrence, 202.

[19] Edward Buck, Massachusetts Ecclesiastical Law (Boston, 1866), p.28.

[20] Samuel Ripley, 262, 270.

[21] Stearns, 27.

[22] Sanderson, 58-59. See also Jason Whitman, Memoir of the Rev. Bernard Whitman (Boston, 1837), p. 90.

[23] Sanderson and Castner, 9.

[24] Bernard Whitman, An Answer to "Eliphalet Pearson's Letter to the Candid" (Boston, 1832), p. 16.

[25] Whitman, Memoir, 91. The provision for six months notice was itself an innovation since congregational ministers in New England were usually settled for life.

[26] "Parish Record, 1821-1840, First Parish in Waltham," MS Notebook, First Parish, Unitarian, Waltham.

[27] "Church Records of the Second Religious Society in Waltham," MS Notebook, First Parish, Unitarian, Waltham.

[28] (Boston, 1832).

[29] Whitman, Memoir, 204.

[30] Leonard Frost and Charles H. Stickney, Story of Methodism in Waltham, Massachusetts (n.p.,n.d.), p. 32.

[31] Frost and Stickney, 32.

[32] F.B. Gruel, 1852-1902. Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Baptist Church, Waltham, Massachusetts (n.p.,n.d.), p.8.

[33] P.M.S., "Waltham Events — An Outline of Church History," typed, 1946, in the Waltham Historical Society.

[34] James B. Thayer, Rev. Samuel Ripley of Waltham (Cambridge, Mass., 1897), p. 46.

[35] Sanderson and Castner, 11-12. See also William G. Land, Thomas Hill, Twentieth President of Harvard (Cambridge, Mass., 1933).

[36] See Appendix II.

[37] Illustrated Historyof Lowell, 700.

[38] Robinson, Loom and Spindle, 189.

[39] Illustrated History of Lowell, 701

[40] Diary of Amos Lawrence, 316.

[41] The Principles and Results of the Ministry at Large, in Boston (Boston, 1838), p. 139.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AS A CHANGING FACTOR IN UNITARIANISM

In so far as the historical sources allow, I shall approach the stratification of the population of Massachusetts and of our specific systems from a multidimensional point of view, taking into consideration the variables of social class or status group, economic class, occupational class and to a lesser extent political class (political power).[1] In order to appreciate Unitarianism in its social context I shall as a whole first develop summary statistics for these variables for Massachusetts throughout our period. They will be sketchy, partly because of the lack of material, but mainly because a thorough treatment would require a book in itself. I shall then develop in detail the material concerning Unitarianism and the specific historical systems.

There is disagreement among historians as to the degree of social stratification in Massachusetts at the beginning of the early national period. This is partly due to lack of adequate historical resources, but it is also because they adopt imprecise and deceptive concepts. Historians have been attracted to the use of such terms as "aristocracy." Arthur M. Schlesinger writes that "The colonists unhesitatingly took for granted the concept of a graded society." "The continuous recruitment of the top stratum of the community from beneath reveals sharply the basic aspects of colonial society: its fluidity, the incessant movement of people upward. The American aristocracy, however undemocratic when once it took form, was undeniably democratic in the method of its forming.[2] It would appear that Schlesinger's confusion comes from lack of conceptual clarity. The presence of social stratification is not the same thing as aristocracy. Aristocracy necessarily implies the manner of acquiring status, i.e., by ascription. Since Schlesinger admits mobility, and by implication mobility into a higher social class, this presumably implies acquisition of status through achievement.

Perhaps one of the chief sources of that interpretation of early New England history which emphasizes aristocracy and rigid social stratification is James Truslow Adams, who interprets the American Revolution as not only a war of independence, but a war between Americans of different classes.

> Before the war, in spite of the growing feeling between classes and the increasing discontent which we noted in the preceding volume, the social order had been a comparatively stable one....Everywhere, both in town and in country, the 'old families' and the higher social classes maintained a position of recognized superiority, which was felt throughout the entire life of their communities. Their influence among their neighbors and the narrow basis of the franchise had enabled them, as a rule, to control the political situation for their own interests, and in many respects New England was more aristocratic, perhaps we may say snobbish, than was the South.[3]

Adam's history is largely an attempt to prove the thesis that events in New England during the early national period should be interpreted as a gradual victory for democracy, Democrats and the people, through the extension of suffrage and the growth of the Democratic Party, though this victory was considerably tempered by the creation of the growing urban proletariat. "Almost all the movements in reality but express forms of a single contest -- that of the common man against the privileged classes for a greater share in the good things of life..."[4]

On the other hand Robert E.Brown interprets Massachusetts social reality as being relatively egalitarian and middle-class. "More than 90 per cent of the people were farmers, most of whom owned their own farms. In fact, a vastly greater part of the population owned property than now, and there was a much smaller gap between the wealthy and the ordinary people." "Massachusetts did not offer a very favorable climate for internal class conflict." "So strong is custom in the shaping of human affairs that the British might well have found their task much easier had American society been as aristocratic as we have been accustomed to consider it."[5]

In view of the weakness of both historical positions I have considered it necessary to approach the problem of stratification independently.[6] I shall ask the following questions: In the period 1780-1800, and in 1870 -- (a) what economic classes existed, i.e., were there substantial differences in the wealth and income of significantly large portions of the population? (b) what occupational classes existed, i.e., to what extent had the division of labor permeated the society so that there was a significant difference in the occupational life experiences and training of large segments of the population? (c) what political classes existed, i.e., to what extent was political power differentially distributed in the population? (d) what social classes (status groups) existed, i.e., to what extent were the inhabitants of Massachusetts subjectively aware of different statuses, both in regard to themselves and others? (e) what ethnic groups existed, i.e., to what extent did religious, racial or nationality groups exist within the state which were accorded different status solely for religious, racial or national reasons? I believe that an approach to the problem within this conceptual framework will eliminate most of the largely verbal arguments that have occupied the historians.

ECONOMIC CLASS.

In regard to economic class we have very little dependable information for the period 1780-1800. It is generally recognized that many of the more wealthy families in Massachusetts were Tories who lost their American assets as a result of siding with England during the Revolution, but there are few adequate statistics of wealth or income. Apparently the great majority of the population in 1780 was closely related to the land, mostly land-owning farmers. In the inland villages there were some who owned more land than others, who were often merchants, dealing mostly in imported manufactured goods and provisions such as tea and sugar, and who collected marketable agricultural produce from the farmers. In the coastal towns such as Salem and Boston there were populations of artisans and apprentices, seamen, merchant importers, traders, and government officials, some of whom owned land in the interior, or sold to inland merchants on credit. The few really wealthy men during this period were engaged mainly in international trade. They assembled and shipped products of New England's farms, forests and fisheries to the West Indies, Africa and Europe. Their ships carried produce between other nations, and brought manufactured goods and special agricultural products to New England. "These merchants....constituted the wealthy class in the colonies."[7]

For the specific systems we are studying we have rather more information.

One of the most useful indications of economic class are the tax lists which remain for those churches founded before the separation of church and state, and for whose support all inhabitants were taxed. Such a list exists for Worcester for the year 1802.[8]

TABLE 14

Worcester Tax List for 1802

	No. of Polls	Reduced Value of Real Estate	Reduced Value of Personal Estates
Whole Town	525	$33,994.	$23,814.
Second Parish	198	28,812.	10,923

The figures in the table above show that the 198 members of Second Parish, who constituted 37.7 per cent of the polls in the town, owned $28,812. worth of real estate, or 84.7 per cent of the value of the real estate in the town of Worcester. This indicates a significant disparity in economic class. Even when real and personal property holdings for the townsmen in toto are compared with the total real and personal holdings of the members of the Second Parish there is a great difference.

TABLE 15

Values of Second Parish Wealth in Worcester

TOTAL VALUE OF REAL AND PERSONAL	TOTAL VALUE SECOND PARISH	% OWNED BY SECOND PARISH
$57,808	$39,735.	68.7

Thirty-seven per cent of the polls owned 68.7 per cent of the wealth, while 62.3 per cent of the polls owned 31.3 per cent of the wealth in Worcester. Approached in a somewhat different manner, the reduced per capita wealth of the average member of Second Parish was $200.68, while that of the average non-member was $55.26. These figures give us a fairly good idea not only of the economic position of the Unitarians, but of the general differential in the population.

Unfortunately we do not have such comprehensive figures for the other communities or historically specific systems, though we do have some clues. Several of the original founders of the Fall River Society either died, were converted by their wives or others to an orthodox faith, or else lost their money in the 1837 depression. As a result the Unitarian Society which had built a new and expensive church suffered grave financial difficulties. In order to alleviate these they sent out an appeal to other Unitarian societies which reads in part: "These seventy-four subscribers were owners of property to more than double the amount of that which was possessed by the members of either (sic) of the other six religious societies, then in the village."[9] Since the Fall River Society was supported by voluntary contributions rather than by a tax on real or personal property there are no tax lists. The information above indicates that the members of the society were in the highest economic brackets in Fall River.

At the Fitchburg Historical Society is a tax list for Fitchburg for 1805. It does not include half a hundred people who felt strongly enough to found a more orthodox society, but it does include 141 inhabitants, nearly 75 per cent of the polls in the town. Since this list dates from nearly twenty years before the founding of an explicitly Unitarian church, we can conclude nothing about Unitarianism from it. It does,however, provide some idea of the relative economic position of the inhabitants since the assessments it details were made proportionately on the combined real and personal wealth of each individual. The parish budget for 1805 was $175.08, assessed on 166 polls, and 141 individuals. That part of the $175.08 collected through real and personal property taxes amounted to $146.64. An examination of the frequency distribution shows a range of individual tax bills from $.04 to $5.96. While the average tax bill was $1.04 the median was only $.80. Some nineteen persons were taxed $2.00 or more, and their total tax bill amounted to $57.32, or 39 per cent of the total. Thus 13.4 per cent contributed 39 per cent of the total. On the other hand those in the lowest quartile gave a total of $5.62 or 3.8 per cent of the total. While the average assessment of the lowest quartile was $.16, that of the upper nineteen (13.4 per cent) was $3.01. Since this parish encompassed nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants and since it is not unlikely that those who were members of the orthodox society were in the lower brackets, these figures would indicate a definite differential in wealth among the inhabitants of Fitchburg.

At the time the Third Parish (Unitarian) in Springfield was established there also appears to have been significant differences among the inhabitants in regard to wealth. When those who wished to found a new liberal church petitioned the legislature for an act of incorporation they stated that they paid "for their estates nearly one third of all taxes assessed on the estates of the whole Parish..." There were fifty-four petitioners out of a total population in 1820 of 3,914.[10]

From this limited information I infer the following: In towns for which we have evidence (and probably in other towns) differences in wealth, as measured by ownership of real and personal property, did exist. If the difference in assessments reflects proportionate differences in the ownership of wealth in Fitchburg, as I am sure it does, then 25 per cent of the male inhabitants possessed 57 per cent of the real and personal property and income, while 75 per cent possessed 43 per cent of the same. There was an even more substantial difference between the upper and the lowest quartiles, the average contribution of the upper being $2.41, of the lower, $.16, a difference of some fifteen times. In Worcester there was a substantial difference in economic class, for 37.7 per cent of the polls owned nearly 70 per cent of the wealth. In this case religious differences were associated with differences in economic class, for the 37.7 per cent referred to above was entirely within the Second Parish. A similar situation existed in Springfield. I conclude that in 1800 a very definite class structure existed on an economic basis in Massachusetts. About one-fourth of the population was in a high economic bracket, and about three-fourths in a bracket considerably lower. There was a wide range between the highest and the lowest quartiles. At this early period Arminianism and Unitarianism tended to be associated with those individuals in the highest quartile.

My statistical information for 1870 is even more limited. The original census reports for Worcester are available from the U.S. Census Bureau. These manuscripts include the names of residents, their ages, occupations, and the declared worth of each individual's real and personal property. From the original reports listing the names of about 40,000 Worcester residents I have found 33 of the 50 names selected as a random sample of the Worcester membership in 1866 (see Appendix). These 33 persons owned personal property valued by themselves at $497,000, and real property valued at $664,600, a total of $1,162,200! The average worth of the member was $35,218. This total excludes one member of the sample whose father was worth a total of

$651,000!

In 1857 the prudential committee of Unity Church, Worcester made a study of the best means of raising the church budget. They reported to the congregation:

> The present number of Members of the parish who would be legally liable to taxation is thirty-six. The valuation of the legal members of the Parish by the Assessors of the city for 1865 was in round numbers $900,000 ($897,300).[11]

The average worth of the legal members of Unity Church in that year amounted to approximately $24,900.

If we add the totals for both parishes, they amount to $2,059,500, or an average for 69 persons of approximately $29,800 per person. The average Massachusetts male in 1870 was worth $2,276. A member of our sample therefore was worth about thirteen times more than his average fellow citizen. Apparently, at least in Worcester, the Unitarians maintained the economic advantage which they had possessed from the beginning. It should be noted, however, that in proportion to the total amount of wealth in the community the Unitarian percentage declined. While it is likely that our sample is biased towards the higher end of the scale of wealth, it seems unlikely that the bias is more than a matter of degree. Unitarians were very high in terms of economic class.

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS.[12] Data on occupational class tends to be more generally available for the entire period for parishes and churches than for the general population. Occupational data is not available through the census until after 1840. I shall assume, therefore, that until the period

1820-1830 a very high proportion of the population outside of Boston were farmers. After 1840 data for the state can be compared with that for the congregations.

Ninety per cent of the population was primarily engaged in agriculture in those areas of Massachusetts away from the seaboard towns in the period 1780-1800, and in many locations for some time after that. On the other hand, according to the Census of 1870, in the state as a whole, with a total working force of 579,844, 12 per cent were engaged in agriculture; 23 per cent in professional and personal service; 15 per cent in trade and transporation; and 50 per cent in manufactures, mechanical and mining industries. Certain of these general census categories contained widely different specific occupations. The category "professional and personal service" included domestic servants, laborers, clergymen, doctors, and lawyers,among others. Of the total of 131,291 in that category, 96,334, or 73 per cent were either laborers or domestic servants, and composed the two largest groups. The third largest group consisted of teachers, 7,220. If laborers and domestic servants are excluded from the category "professional and personal service," then the remainer, totalling some 34,957 persons, constituted 6 per cent of the total Massachusetts work force in 1870. Fifty per cent of the category "Manufactures, Mechanical and Mining" were in five occupations: carpenters and joiners, boot and shoe makers, cotton mill operatives, tailors and woolen mill operatives. The remaining 50 per cent were distributed through some 175 different occupations.

The general occupational distribution for the cities in which our specific historical systems were located and for which there is information was as follows:

TABLE 16

Occupation Distribution By City

CITY	AGRICULTURE	PROF & PERSONAL	TRADE AND TRANSPORT	MANUFACTURES
Fall River	351	1,611	1,327	9,593
Lowell	206	3,382	1,899	15,306
Worcester	567	4,539	2,339	9,082

Looking at these figures it is evident that the percentages were somewhat different from those of the state as a whole. Only 2 per cent were engaged in agriculture as compared with 12 per cent for the state; 68 per cent were engaged in manufactures as compared with 50 per cent for the state; 19 per cent in professional and personal service as compared with 23 per cent for the state; and 11 per cemt in trade and transportation,as compared with 15 per cent for the state.

In Worcester, the only city for which the information was broken down into more specific occupational categories, of those engaged in professional and personal services, 3,430 were either laborers or domestic servants; of those engaged in manufactures, 6,354 were boot and shoe makers, carpenters, cotton mill operatives, tailors, masons, blacksmiths, iron and steel workers, machinists, milliners, or painters. If we compare Worcester with the state average in the category of professional and personal service we find that about the same percentage were servants and laborers.

If we compare these general statistics with the specific parishes, then the results are as follows:

TABLE 17

Worcester - 1787 - All Founding Members

Occupational Category	No. in Congregation	Percent of Congregation
1. Farmer	19	30
2. Laborer or Domestic	0	0
3. Professional and Service	19	30
4. Trade and Transport	7	11
5. Manufactures (A)	5	7
6. Manufactures (B)	4	5
7. Unknown, No Category	9	14

This analysis of the founders of Second Parish shows a preponderance of farmers and professionals. Even as early as 1787, 12 per cent of the members were engaged in occupations within the category of manufactures. However a close look at the actual occupations will show that these were skilled craftsmen who ran their own businesses, not wage earners. Eleven per cent were merchants. Two generalizations seem justified on the basis of this information. (1) It is likely that the category of professionals is very over-represented in comparison with the proportion of this category in the working force; that this is also probably true of the merchant and craftsmen categories. (2) Farmers were under-represented. Let us compare this breakdown with that for a century later.

TABLE 18

Worcester - 1866 - Random Sample (50 of 103)

Occupational Category	No. in Sample	Per Cent of Sample
1. Farmer	4	8
2. Laborer or Domestic	0	0
3. Professional and Service	13	26
4. Trade and Transport	19	38
5. Manufactures (A)	4	8
6. Manufactures (B)	9	18
7. Unknown, No Category	1	2

There were dramatic changes in the occupational composition of the Worcester congregation between 1787 and 1866. The percentage of farmers markedly decreased, though it was still larger than for the city as a whole. There was no member of category 2 at either time, though in 1870 nearly 15 per cent of the total populatinn was in that category. The number of professionals had declined slightly. On the other hand the number of those engaged in trade and transportation had more than tripled. This increase is even more significant than it appears for virtually every member listed was either an independent merchant or bank officer, both greatly over-represented in terms of normal expectations. Most of those in the categories of manufactures were not employees, but owners or mangers, and they are also very much over-represented.

This examination of the occupational class structure of the Worcester Second Parish indicates that the congregation did not reflect the general occupational class structure of the state, but that it was dominated by professionals, merchants, bankers and manufacturers, the upper end of the occupational class structure.

The Unitarian parish in Springfield was not quite the same.

TABLE 19

Springfield - 1819 - Random Sample of

Founders (40 of 114)

Occupational Category	No. in Sample	Percent of Sample
1. Famer	15	37.5
2. Laborer or Domestic	0	0
3. Professional and Service	6	15
4. Trade and Transport	5	12.5
5. Manufactures (A)	2	5
6. Manufactures (B)	6	15
7. Unknown, No Category	6	15

This random sample of the founders of the Springfield society is dominated by farmers, a group not commonly associated by historians with Unitarianism. Compared with Worcester the number of professionals was low, while those in manufactures was high. Springfield, as early as the American Revolution, was the site of the United States Armory, which manufactured weapons for the American army, and was thus an early manufacturing center. By 1820, compared with most Massachusetts towns a very early date, 58 per cent of the population was engaged in manufacturing. Only 23 people in the entire town were employed in commerce (category 4), of which our sample apparently includes one-fourth.[13] The working class population of the town do not appear in the sample. Professional and trading classes are over-represented. This is especially true since the presence of the Dwights on the list indicates the Unitarian affiliation of the dominant merchant family in the Connecticut valley. It was Jonathan Dwight, Sr., as a matter of fact, who built the first

Unitarian church with his own money, and aggressively sought a minister.

TABLE 20

Springfield - 1886 - Random Sample (40 of 214)

Occupational Category	No. in Sample	Per Cent of Sample
1. Farmer	1	2.5
2. Laborer or Domestic	2	5
3. Professional and Service	6	15
4. Trade and Transport	12	30
5. Manufactures (A)	1	2.5
6. Manufactures (B)	13	32.5
7. Unknown, No Category	5	12.5

By 1886 the number of farmers in the membership had declined. While the number of professionals remained stable, the number engaged in trade, transporation and commerce had increased. This is the first time a laborer is found in the sample. It is also the first time a college student is found. As in Worcester, professionals, merchants and manufacturers were over-represented when compared with the general population.

Fall River was not unlike Worcester and Springfield.

TABLE 21

Fall River - 1832 - Random Sample of

Founders (16 of 65)

Occupational Category	No. in Sample	Per Cent of Sample
1. Farmer	2	12.5
2. Laborer or Domestic	0	0
3. Professional and Service	2	12.5
4. Trade and Transport	5	31.5
5. Manufactures (A)	0	0
6. Manufactures (B)	3	18.75
7. Unknown, No Category	4	25

No doubt the sample is too small to be reliable, but the high proportion engaged in trade, transport and manufactures should be noted.

TABLE 22

Fall River - 1858 - Entire Membership

Occupational Category	No. in Membership	Percent of Membership
1. Farmer	0	0
2. Laborer or Domestic	0	0
3. Professional or Service	11	12.4
4. Trade and Transport	24	27
5. Manufactures (A)	9	10.1
6. Manufactures (B)	22	24.7
7. Unknown, No Category	23	25.8

In the case of Fall River there were no farmers, and a high proportion of merchants. Even combining categories 5 and 6 the proportion engaged in manufactures is much less than for the city as a whole (74 per cent in 1870).

The occupational structure of the Fitchburg parish was different from those we have examined thus far, at least at the time for which information is available.

TABLE 23

Fitchburg - 1837 - All Pew Owners

Occupational Category	No. of Owners	Per Cent of Owners
1. Farmers	32	55
2. Laborer or Domestic	0	0
3. Professional or Service	4	7
4. Trade and Transport	2	3.5
5. Manufactures (A)	2	3.5
6. Manufactures (B)	1	2
7. Unknown, No Category	17	29

Fitchburg had a total population of 2,604 in 1840, its industrial growth occurring later. It is significant, though, that 55 per cent of the membership were still farmers, a higher percentage than had been true of Worcester in 1787. All other categories are very small. It is possible that several of those in category 7 would be in category 4, if we had the information available.

A very small sample has been taken from the Waltham membership.

TABLE 24

Waltham - 1839 - Random Sample of Pew Owners (19 of 104)

Occupational Category	No. of Owners	Per Cent of Owners
1. Farmer	2	
2. Laborer or Domestic	1	
3. Professional or Service	1	
4. Trade and Transport	3	
5. Manufactures (A)	4	
6. Manufactures (B)	3	
7. Unknown, No Category	5	

Because of the size of the population of Middlesex county by 1840, it is very difficult to find the information on occupation in the deeds registered at the county court house. For this reason the sample is small. Still it may be worthwhile to note the contrast between Waltham and Fitchburg at about the same time. Ten per cent of the Waltham sample consists of farmers, whereas the Fitchburg congregation was more than half farmers. The division of labor had progressed at different rates in different geographical regions of the state.

Unity Church was the first "suburban" Unitarian congregation, the only one in this study. As such the composition of its membership is instructive.

TABLE 25

Worcester Unity Church - 1846 - All Founding Members

Occupational Category	No. in Membership	Per Cent of Membership
1. Farmer	1	2.5
2. Laborer or Domestic	0	0
3. Professional or Service	9	22
4. Trade and Transport	16	39
5. Manufactures (A)	3	7.5
6. Manufactures (B)	8	19.5
7. Unknown, No Category	4	9.5

This parish was almost 80 per cent professional, merchant and manufacturer composed. Perhaps this is related to social system innovations which were introduced into the society, including the abolition of the church as an organization separate from the parish.

While I do not have statistical information on the Lowell society, I do know that in 1880, out of a total of 351 members, there were: seven lawyers, five doctors, one dentist, two former ministers, the city marshall, the city treasurer, the superintendent of schools, thirteen teachers, two agents of corporations, one portrait painter, one electrician, one hydraulic engineer, twenty manufacturers, fifty merchants, three real estate brokers, six bankers, the registrar of deeds, four insurance men, five journalists, one sheriff, two photographers, five railway men, including the manager and treasurer of the Lowell railroad and the superintendent of the Nashua and Lowell railroad, two florists, the city ice man, four farmers, and "fifty or sixty representatives of different trades and industries."[14] The above list totals about two-thirds of the male membership. The trade and transport category would account for about 20 per cent of the total male membership, whereas only about 8 per cent of the working population of the city was in that category (1,899 out of 20,793 in 1870).

TABLE 26

Summary of all Occupational Categories - All Dates

Occupational Category	No. in All	Per Cent of All
1. Farmer	76	18
2. Laborer or Domestic	3	.7
3. Professional or Service	71	17
4. Trade and Transport	93	22
5. Manufactures (A)	30	7
6. Manufactures (B)	69	17
7. Unknown, No Category	74	18
TOTAL	416	

This gross summary confirms that the number of Unitarians engaged in trade, transport, and the professions was far out of proportion to the percentage so engaged among the general populace.

If we specify occupation and date more specifically, the differences are even more significant.

TABLE 27

Specific Occupations Compared - 1870
Worcester, Springfield, Fall River

	No. in Parishes	%	No. in Mass.	%
Lawyers	8	4.4	1,270	.20
Bankers	9	5.0	1,400	.24
Merchants	14	7.8	23,384	4.00
Manufacturers	17	9.5	42,877	.34 (all U.S.)

In other words, Unitarian parishes studied had 22 times the number of lawyers, 20 times the number of bankers, about twice as many merchants, and approximately 28 times the number of manufacturers which we could have expected if their membership had reflected the characteristics of the total working population in 1870.

Finally, what were the changes in the occupational composition of Unitarian parishes? The most obvious change was the decline in the number of farmers, a decline which was common among all churches in urbanizing settings. But the effect of a large membership of farmers on Unitarianism at the time of its earliest development has never been acknowledged or explored. Secondly, there is an obvious growth in the importance of merchant and manufacturer classes. Whereas many of those classified as manufactures in the early national period were individual craftsmen, at the end of the period those in that category were the owners of factories. Their social power was much greater than the earlier craftsman's. Merchants and manufacturers tend to share somewhat the same attitude towards the economic and social system. The professional class remained stable, or declined, relative to merchant and manufacturer. Their relative importance was probably less also. In a congregation of farmers, as in early Worcester or Fitchburg, the professional as one of the few educated people in the community would occupy an important place. It is also possible that the ideological orientation to life of either the farmer or the professional was quite different from that of the merchant or manufacturer. Finally, with the loss of the farmer and the craftsman the occupational range within Unitarianism markedly narrowed. Since the industrial proletariat was virtually absent, by 1870, economically and occupationally, Unitarianism was almost entirely upper middle and upper class.

POLITICAL CLASS.

Consideration of political class will be much more impressionistic than of economic and occupational class. A thorough study of Unitarianism and politics in Massachusetts would be a book in itself. I will only suggest the degree to which power was exercised by Unitarians during the period.

I should note first the large number of local office holders among those in the occupational listings. Among the Worcester membership in 1787 is the clerk of courts, the treasurer of the county,the registrar of deeds, another clerk of courts, and a judge. In addition Levi Lincoln, active in state politics and later Attorney General of the United States under Jefferson, was an active founder. In the membership sample of 1866 we find the supreme justice of the Suffolk county court, another judge, a U. S. assessor, and the city treasurer. Between 1800 and 1870 Worcester Unitarians furnished two governors of Massachusetts, Levi Lincoln, Jr., who served nearly a decade, and John Davis. This is only a modest indication of the political activity of the membership.

The Lowell society was not far behind. The Rev. Henry A. Miles wrote that in the year of his installation at Lowell "the city government was first organized. . . it happened that the mayor, every one of the aldermen, the president of the common council, the city treasurer, the city clerk, and a large number of the common council, were taken from this society."[15]

While the other parishes probably did not dominate politics as completely as did the Worcester and Lowell parishes, the degree of participation in local government, and state and even national politics, was very high.[16]

Yet power is exercised not only by those formally elected to office, but also by those whose decisions effect large numbers of people, and by those who can influence public or private action and opinion. I have already noted the large number of bankers and manufacturers whose decisions in the context of the local community were important. In the area of publishing many Unitarians were found. Isaiah Thomas, editor of the _Massachusetts Spy_, and a leading Revolutionary, second only to Benjamin Franklin as a publisher in late colonial and early national times, was a founder of the Worcester parish. The Bowles family, publishers and editors of the _Springfield_

Republican, one of the most influential Republican newspapers in the country, was active in the Springfield society after 1850. Other editors that I know of in Waltham, Worcester and Fall River were Unitarians.[17] Furthermore, certain families dominant in the economic life of these cities were Unitarians, including the Bordens of Fall River, the Dwights of Springfield, and the Salisburys of Worcester. Virtually all the Boston Associates, creators of Waltham and Lowell, were Unitarians. So far as I have been able to discover the political power of most Unitarians was exercised through Federalist, National Republican, Whig and Republican parties. The only issue which threatened their uniformity was slavery. Those few who were Jeffersonians or Jacksonians, such as Levi Lincoln, Sr., George Bancroft, and P. W. Leland were the exceptions that made the rule.

Active in exercising power and influencing political decisions, the Unitarians constituted an important, if not an absolutely dominant group. Our evidence shows a coincidence of economic, occupational and political class. If Unitarians perceived this themselves, or other people in the community perceived it, then in all likelihood as a group Unitarians acquired a particular status as a social class which was commonly acknowledged.

SOCIAL CLASS.

Social stratification is not only a result of differential economic factors, occupational division, and differences of political power and influence, it is also a result of primarily cultural factors in terms of private and public expectations. People subjectively may make judgments about themselves and others in terms of their rank, status or social location, and such judgments do not always consistently reflect only economic or political power or occupation.

There is extensive evidence that Unitarians from almost the beginning considered themselves as members of a special status group, and were recognized as such by others, sometimes with resentment. There is also some evidence that becoming Unitarian was associated with upward mobility since not all of those who were Unitarians, especially by the middle of the century, had been born into the movement. Since much of this material will be presented in other chapters, I shall restrict myself here to generalities concerning class consciousness, and status.

In 1846 the Christian Register, the Unitarian denominational magazine, printed a letter to the editor, signed "T", which reads as follows:

> A friend of ours. . . was not long since in Boston, and thought he would be glad to hear the Sabbath services of a clergyman of our faith of some celebrity. After standing for some time in the entry of his Church, and seeing one after another pass in to their seats, until nearly the whole congregation assembled, his anxiety to hear the preacher

> induced him to inquire of a gentleman who was about going in, whether there was any provision there for strangers, — to which the gentleman replied, "we are rather exclusive here," and went in leaving our friend to dispose of himself as best he could.[18]

This sense of exclusiveness posed a constant problem for a ministry concerned with increasing membership and support. Through their complaints one indirectly senses the situation. Frederic Henry Hedge, one of the more moderate Transcendentalists, satirized what he called the faith of the "practical unbeliever" at the very beginning of Reason in Religion.

> I believe in one supreme and all-sufficient good, — the good of riches, the good of honor, the good of enjoyment. These three are one good; the same in substance, equal in value and satisfaction. I believe that the chief end of man is to get gain and lay up much good for many years. I believe that religion is the necessary safeguard of life and property, and must be maintained with strict conformity and punctual observance. I believe in success. I believe in respectability. I believe that the respectable are the children of God and shall inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world; but the needy and the vagabond, the profane rabble, shall be cast into outer darkness, where there is wailing and gnashing of teeth.[19]

Henry Ware, Jr., one of the most prominent clerical leaders of the movement, had similar words of rebuke in his "Sober Thoughts on the State of the Times."

> It is not easy to use a gentler word in reference to those, who, with the same confidence in their own superior light, yet absent themselves one half the time from the worship which they support. These are mostly your luxurious citizens, your genteel religionists, who go to church for example's

> sake, and because religion is an excellent thing for the poor; who kneel on cushions of down and confess their sins in all attitudes of languor and grace; -- great admirers of beautiful style and poetical imagery; -- who divide their religious feelings between the sermon of the morning and the dinner of the noonday, and the conversation or slumbers of the afternoon. This race of accommodating christians is principally the growth of larger towns, and may be found in all our cities patronizing the fashionable church, -- no matter what the denomination may chance to be. It exhibits its striking sense of the contrast which should exist between religion and the world, by the crowded condition of its cotillion rooms, and the emptiness of its churches. Doubtless it would be too much to expect of those who are wearied out with the pleasures of the week, that they should have spirit or strength to worship God as much on Sunday as common people who have no such weighty cares; it would be unreasonable to require them in the afternoon to attend church, when they can hardly find time to get through their courses and drink their wine.[20]

One of the ways in which status was expressed was through architecture. By the measure of simple value alone Unitarian church buildings far exceeded those of other Massa--chusetts denominations. In 1870 the average value of Unitarian churches was $14,237, while that of Congregationalists was $7,319 and of the Baptists, $5,490.[21] Yet the question was not one of value alone, but also of style. One of the reasons for the founding of the Fall River Society was the desire of some of the inhabitants for a stylish church, and accordingly a white, wooden Gingerbread Gothic structure was built.[22] Apparently some reacted against the new style, for more than a decade after it was built, Samuel Longfellow, candidating for its pulpit, wrote to his mother that the city seemed "forlorn" and mentioned the church "which John Ware thinks so beautiful and which I dislike so much."[23] In Springfield, too, at a later date, a Richardson church was built, reflecting both the aesthetic values and status needs of the period.

This tendency to build expensive churches did not go unremarked or uncriticised. The Christian Register editorialized in 1846 that "a portion of our churches are becoming too expensive for any but the rich, and the vain distinctions of a vain, frivolous and unsanctified world, are finding their way into the places of our devotions."[24] The same year William Henry Channing remarked to the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association that "It is not enough to build Gothic churches."[25]

The separation of church and state tended to increase the distance between classes so far as religion was concerned, for many churches adopted the practice of raising money by a tax on pews. Members were those who could afford to own a pew and pay a tax on it as well. The "poor," if they came to church at all, were segregated in free pews, or in a balcony. Joseph Tuckerman wrote:

> But are representatives of all classes to be found there?. . . . From a quarter, to a third of the population of this city, who might be there, do not enter one of these churches. The poor are even excluded from them, except upon the condition of taking their place there as the poor. . . . The very worshippers in these churches are to a great extent wholly unconscious of the spiritual necessities and dangers of those thus shut out from our places of worship; and of the circumstances in the constitution of our churches, and of society, to which these evils are primarily to be attributed. . . . Is not the administration of our religion in large towns and cities

> almost necessarily confined to the proprietors and renters of pews?[26]

When confronted with masses of unchurched Protestants in the growing towns and cities of the Commonwealth, the Unitarian response tended to take the form of building essentially segregated "chapels" for the "poor." In some churches a poor member was unusual. Samuel Longfellow could write his mother: "I have made but one visit today: and that to the only poor family in my society — and they not really in poverty, tho' sometimes receiving our help."[27] At least Longfellow called on his only poor family. One senses in the sermons and letters of the time a feeling that the poor were separate, distinct and different. There was little or no identification with them,except by a few of the most sensitive. In this instance Octavius Brooks Frothingham's description of the Boston Unitarians was applicable throughout the state. "The Unitarians were conservative, believers in providential arrangements of society, believers in respectability, in class distinctions. . . . Their faith was in slow and gradual uplifting, through the diffusion of charity and the spread of truth."[28]

ETHNIC GROUPS:

If the Unitarians were conscious of their own class, and of class distinctions, they were equally conscious of ethnic differences. With certain outstanding exceptions, they looked upon the Negro as inferior, and were condescending towards the

Jew. Their main concern was with the great influx of Irish Catholic immigrants. While a few Unitarians tended to reflect the common anti-Catholic prejudice, on the whole they did not tend to emphasize the religious aspect of the difference, and, in fact, in some cases educated their children under Catholic teachers. They tended to see the difference as one in socialization, and, therefore, their mission as one of conversion, not so much to Protestantism, as to the Protestant Ethic. The Minister-at-Large in Worcester wrote:

> In the constantly increasing emigration to this country, foreigners must necessarily multiply among us; the Irish and French are already numerous. It is this portion of our population that requires the most attention and care. Among the French, though there is much poverty, there is a thrift, an industry, an honesty, a cleanliness, which encourage the hope that, with a little aid and instruction, they may become valuable members of the community.
>
> It is needless to speak either of the faults or the virtues of the Irish. They suffer more than any other class among us. They come to our shores, led by false promises, ignorant, undisciplined; many of them do not even know how to read; fewer still have the faculty of living, -- the power to turn things to their best use, -- the comprehension of what is meant by tomorrow.[29]
>
> The influx of foreigners seems to increase from year to year, and among them there is little of Yankee thrift and self-reliance. I acknowledge that it is utterly disagreeable and repugnant to me to come in contact with them. Their clannish spirit gathers them in bee-like swarms, while their jealousy and prejudice make it a most difficult matter to benefit them. Into this dark corner of my ministry I have made frequent incursions, with much disgust and discouragement, with some success and pleasure; with a persevering hope; for what in God's name, is to be done with

> this element, in a Republican government, unless we purify and absorb it. In this class idleness follows naturally on their ignorance or comfort, because one day's labor will support them for two or three.
>
> Poverty is certainly no disgrace, no curse, sent by God on some of his children, but a class of circumstances, which He finds best for their "spiritual training." When God placed so many on this dangerous road to Heaven, He hedged around all its pit-falls with another class, the PROSPEROUS class of his children; and shall they shrink from their station, and turn from their duty? We must carry our refinement into their coarseness, our strength into their weakness; we must teach them, and elevate them, by contact with them; and not put them out of sight and out of mind except as a mere question of economy.[30]

Unitarians saw themselves as a separate class of special status apart from both the poor and the foreign. At the same time, they emphasized charity of a paternalistic nature, and believed that New England should avoid creating wide differences between classes, such as they associated with the Old World. They feared class struggle, and to a degree saw religion as an opiate, but they also saw their duty as the educated and ruling class. "With the experience of older cities before us, we ought to apply earlier preventive and reformatory measures."[31] Similar sentiments were frequently expressed.[32] They remained committed not only to the inevitability of social stratification, but the hope of social mobility for all.

The consideration of social stratification in this chapter has shown that there was a large degree of coincidence within Unitarian ranks on factors of economic and occupational class, political class, and social class. Unitarianism represented a religious life view which appealed to the upper middle and upper class, as measured according to these variables. Their social ethics were an ideology, in the sociological meaning of the term, insofar as they rationalized their social location and interests. The most important change in the stratification characteristics of the group over the period 1780-1870 was a narrowing of the class composition of the congregations. In the beginning, though upper economic classes were over-represented, membership included significant numbers of farmers and craftsmen, but as the century progressed there were fewer yeomen and more merchants and manufacturers. There was an almost total absence of servants, laborers or operatives, though these composed a very substantial part of the population. It was this narrowing of the strata to which Unitarianism appealed which was the cause of the movement's decline after the early 1830's, for its potential membership depended on the size of population strata which was quite small in proportion to the general population. The factor of class, then, is important in understanding why the movement did not grow in proportion to the general population growth, but at the same time was associated with the locus of population growth, the city, for it was precisely in the city that was found the limited strata from which members came, the manufacturers, the merchants, government officials and professionals.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V

[1] The main outlines of the theoretical framework used in this chapter may be found in Milton M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (McGraw-Hill Paperbacks; New York, 1963), especially p. 245 ff.

[2] "The Aristocracy in Colonial America," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, 1962), LXXIV, pp. 3, 14.

[3] New England in the Republic, Vol. III: A History of New England (Boston, 1927), p. 45.

[4] Adams, 329.

[5] Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780 (Ithaca, 1955), pp. 19-20, 119, 167.

[6] While I believe that it is incorrect to characterize New England society as "aristocratic," I believe it is equally incorrect to infer that there was no social stratification in the society of the time. The mere ability to vote or own land does not mean that differentials in the various dimensions of class did not exist. On the contrary, as the evidence I will present shows, there were substantial differentials. The truth lies between the extremes of Brown and Schlesinger. Historians could profit from more familiarity with the more delicate con--ceptual tools of social science. At times they remind me of the man who ate his pie with a shovel.

[7] For the general background of this paragraph, see Edward C. Kirkland, A History of American Economic Life (New York, 1951), chapters iii, vi, vii.

[8] The list is in the library of manuscripts at the American Antiquarian Society.

[9] A copy of the appeal is in the Fall River file in the Historical Library of the Unitarian Universalist Association in Boston.

[10] "Petition," Dated May 20, 1818, found in the file for 1818-1823, Old First Church, Springfield records in the library of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, Springfield.

[11] "Second Parish Papers," American Antiquarian Society, File for 1857-1859. Hereafter referred to as SPP with file date.

[12] In order to assemble information on occupational class the following procedure was adopted: First, in the case of each parish, a decision was made whether to seek data on the entire membership as described in the tax or membership lists, or on only a part of it. The decision was based on the absolute number involved, and availability of occupational data. Where the total number of members was so large as to discourage seeking information on all, a random sample was drawn, using the numbering system and a table of random numbers. Before 1840 or 1850 there are few local directories, so research must be done on each individual using a variety of means. While local histories are sometimes helpful, deeds and other legal documents were most useful, since they usually listed the occupations of the parties involved. Most of the early information, then, comes from the Registry of Deeds. For the later periods local directories were most useful. Another problem was the categorization of occupations. After examining several possible categorizations, I decided it was best to use the categories found in the census of 1870, with some specification. These categories were agriculture; professional and personal service; trade and transportation; and manufactures, mechanical and mining industries. Using the information available in the census, I broke these down into farmer (agriculture), category 1; professional and personal service, categories 2 and 3 — category 2 is limited to laborers and domestics, while category 3 is all others in that census category; trade and transportation, category 4 — which includes merchants and bankers; manufactures, mechanical and mining industries, categories 5 and 6 — category 5 is limited to the eleven most common occupations in the general category in Massachusetts and category 6 to the many remaining occupations, including manufacturer (owner); unknown or no category, category 7, which includes those I was unable to trace, as well as those listed on early deeds simply as "gentleman." Comparative statistics for Massachusetts and selected cities in the state may be found in Ninth Census, The Statistics of the Population of the United States embracing the tables of race, nationality, sex, selected ages, and occupations (Washington, D.C., 1872), I.

[13] Brown, Urbanization in Springfield, 17.

[14] Semi-Centennial Anniversary. . . Lowell, 5.

[15] Semi-Centennial Anniversary. . . Lowell, 6.

[16] Among the parish members elected at various times to the United States Congress were George Ashmun of Springfield (1845-1851), Nathaniel Borden of Fall River (1834-1838, 1840-1842), and in the Worcester parish Levi Lincoln, Sr. (1800-1802), Levi Lincoln, Jr. (1834-1841), John Davis (1824-1832). No doubt there were others. Holders of state offices were many.

[17] The Rev. Thomas Hill of Waltham was a founder of the Waltham paper. P. W. Leland, also a Democratic leader, was editor of one in Fall River. A member of Second Parish, Worcester, edited a local paper. Edward Everett Hale's father edited the leading Whig newspaper in Massachusetts, the Boston Advertiser.

[18] September 19, 1846.

[19] (Boston, 1867), p. 12.

[20] [Henry Ware, Jr.] Sober Thoughts on the State of the Times (Boston, 1835), pp. 28-29.

[21] U. S. Census Office, A Compendium of the Ninth Census, pp. 518-525.

[22] See footnote ix.

[23] Letter to Samuel Johnson, November 29, 1847.

[24] April 18, 1846.

[25] The Twenty-First Report of the American Unitarian Association, with the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, May 26th 1846 (Boston, 1846), p. 46.

[26] The Principles and Results of the Ministry at Large, in Boston (Boston, 1838), pp. 10, 47.

[27] Letter to his mother, January 1, 1849.

[28] Frothingham, Boston Unitarianism, 251.

[29] Francis Le Baron, Second Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in Worcester (Worcester, 1851), p. 16.

[30] Francis Le Baron, Third Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in the City of Worcester (Worcester, 1852), pp. 20, 12.

[31] [Horatio Wood], The Fourth Annual Report of the Minister at Large in Lowell, to the Lowell Missionary Society (Lowell, 1848), p. 22.

[32] Unitarian ministers harped on the importance of foresight in avoiding the pitfalls of European economic development. Miles and Wood in Lowell, Whitman in Waltham, and Le Baron in Worcester, not to mention Joseph Tuckerman, William Ellery Channing, Charles F. Barnard in Boston were among them. The paternalism of their viewpoint is often evident. Thus, "H.G.E." wrote to the Christian Register of August 21, 1847 that Unitarian was not flourishing in Manchester, N. H., because "pretty much the

whole population being factory operatives or the dependent classes created by the new factories, this is not the material for rational preaching to affect."

CHAPTER VI

AMBIGUOUS IMAGES: THE CITY AND THE FACTORY IN UNITARIAN THOUGHT

Unitarians, ministers and laymen alike, associated the city and industrial capitalism with European, especially British precedents. Many had lived and traveled extensively abroad and were familiar at first-hand with the crowded slums of Birmingham and Manchester, and with the rigid social stratification characteristic of European society. Throughout the years during which American industry was establishing itself, and industrial cities were being created across the state, the spectre of the European experience haunted those who wrote and spoke on the subject. While on the one hand they encouraged "progress", they were at pains to point out that progress would not create the same conditions that existed in Europe.

The Boston Associates themselves were concerned with the problem. F. C. Lowell knew that rural Americans would not accept the conditions of living, work or wage that then existed in Europe. He planned to attract a supply of untapped labor as his operatives, mainly the daughters of rural New England farm families for whom there was little other work available. Such a labor force would be efficient, well trained in the Puritan virtues, and was not likely to become the permanent base for an industrial Proletariat. They would work in the city for a few years, save some money, and then return to their homes to marry and raise a family or continue their education. To attract them, dormitories which were closely supervised were built in both Waltham and Lowell. Not only religious attendance, but various other forms of self-improvement were encouraged. In this way Lowell sought to allay Yankee suspicion of the city and the factory. During the first thirty years of expansion his expectations were realized, but with the immense growth of the industry, the increased competition, and the unanticipated immigration of Irish labor, the original scheme gradually faded. In the 1840's conditions began to resemble those of Europe. Processes which transcended the powers of rational control, even of the Boston Associates, reigned unrestrainedly.

It would be a mistake unquestionably to accept the testimony of critics of the growing industrial system. Increasingly students of social change have become aware of the irrational resistance created by disturbances in traditional cultures. Populations of rural migrants (including preachers), whether from rural Ireland or rural New England, will adjust slowly and painfully to new conditions of life. Even when their standard of living is objectively higher than it was in the home from which they came, the contrast in degrees of wealth and success, and the impersonality, and the discipline required in large cities and factories cause dissatisfaction and stimulate protest. Judgments based on abstract concepts of social justice contribute little to the understanding of the historical unrest of the urbanized masses unless they take into account such factors.[1] On the other hand, judgments must be made of the accuracy of the opinions of those who wrote from an ideological point of view.

What the historical reality was is sometimes difficult to perceive. At any rate, we are fortunate to have extensive material concerning the reaction of clergymen in the specific historical systems to both the city and industrial capitalism. This I shall occasionally supplement with magazine and sermon references from other Massachusetts Unitarian spokesmen.

As the minister of the company church in the first factory town, Bernard Whitman gave his attention to the effect of industrialism on American life. Typically he emphasized self-discipline, self-improvement, especially through education, and the belief that success may be achieved through hard work. He implemented his beliefs by founding the Rumford Institute in Waltham, for the continuing education of mechanics and laborers, by serving on the town school committee and successfully working for the expansion of the public school system. In "A Thanksgiving Discourse, on the Means of Increasing Public Happiness," he gave his attention to the doubts of his fellow citizens in regard to industrialization.[2] His discourse was an optimistic reply to skeptics, and an apology for the developing system. He first asked:

> Will not our manufacturing establishments prevent in some degree, this universal extension and increase of intelligence, and virtue and felicity? Will they not eventually become nurseries of ignorance, and vice, and wretchedness? This is feared by some individuals. But their fears do not appear to me to be well founded. For in most instances they have been awakened by descriptions of the worst English establishments; and not by any circumstances which now exist, or ever have occurred in this commonwealth. Now the causes which have made those establishments so abandoned need never operate in our manufacturing communities; and consequently the same mental and moral degradation can never be produced.

Whitman pointed out that the English urban crowding was the result of the use of steam power, which permitted many factories to be built in a small geographical area. Since there are many water power sites in New England, "we shall...be delivered from the evils of a crowded manufacturing population; because no stream is sufficiently large to warrant the erection of a great number of manufactories." Furthermore, English workers come from the lowest strata of society and are prohibited by a variety of conditions from improving themselves. American workers, on the other hand, all have some degree of education, and most become operatives only temporarily. "The whole population is as respectable, enlightened, and moral as any agricultural community. I do not make this assertion ignorantly; for I have been connected, first and last, with five different establishments..." Americans receive high wages in contrast to those in England. "Now our people receive nearly double the wages they could obtain in any other employment." "There is no such thing as extreme poverty..." He also indicated the difference in the way the operatives were controlled, no corporal punishments being permitted in America, and higher moral standards being maintained. Finally he noted the differences in provision for intellectual improvement.

> Our proprietors provide for the education of those who are connected with their establishments. The highest wages are given to instructors. The schools continue throughout the year. All the children are required to attend. An evening school is kept for the benefit of those who are employed during the day. A library is weekly opened to all the people. Courses of popular lectures on a variety of useful subjects are delivered. And if all classes do not improve, the blame rests on themselves.

Not only this, but contrary to English practice, religious instruction which either management or labor is required to support and which "all the people are expected to attend," is emphasized. He concluded with an optimistic panegyric on the compatibility of industrial development and traditional American values and aspirations.

> Let the proprietors employ none but moral persons; and give proper encouragement to skill and industry, and make punctual payments, and support schools, libraries, mechanics institutes, and christian instructions, and they will continue to receive the reward of their labors. And let the people employed preserve an interest in the education of their children, and frown upon every species of immorality, and encourage all judicious plans for mental and moral and religious improvement, and their prosperity and happiness will continue to increase. Our people are more intelligent and virtuous; and do not have so many holidays, and so much dissipation, and therefore cause the same number of looms, in the same time, to turn off nearly double the quantity of cloth. You likewise notice that the farming interest instead of being injured by the manufacturing, is greatly benefited, in several ways; in the rise of real estate, in the ready market for all surplus produce, in the demand for all kinds of labor, in the variety and cheapness of manufactured articles, in the vast sums of money put in circulation, and in the encouragement given to mental, moral, and religious improvement. You further observe that there is nothing in either the situation or employment to prevent a manufacturing population from being as respectable, intelligent, refined, moral, and religious as any other industrious community. And finally, you perceive that our manufacturing establishments offer no objection at present to the universal extension and increase of knowledge, and goodness, and happiness.

In 1828, Whitman's optimism was justified. Many visitors commented on the outstanding record, especially in terms of concern for the well-being of the operatives, of the first enterprises. But the key words were "So long as the proprietors and their people are faithful to their own true interests." A great many Unitarians insisted, to themselves as well as others, that the interests of labor and management were the same. Amos Lawrence wrote to his son that "We are literally all working-men; and the attempt to get up a Working-man's party is a libel upon the whole population, as it implies that there are among us large numbers who are not working-men."[3] Even those ministers who most actively sought social reform preached against ideas which would separate classes in terms of their interests, even Theodore Parker. Orestes Brownson was almost the only exception. The burden of their plea always ended in an apology for the existing class structure. Presumably they could not conceive of circumstances in which the true interests of both would not coincide, even when power was exercised by the upper class members of corporate boards, not town meetings.

One of the most interesting responses to industrialism was that of the Rev. Henry A. Miles, pastor of the Unitarian Society in Lowell. In 1846, Miles published a book, Lowell, As It Was, and As It Is, which was obviously a reply to critics of the system, as well as to those who were seeking an investigation by the legislature.[4] He began with a history of Lowell--of the corporations, the mills, the railroad, the churches. He noted how the city had gradually acquired an identity and sense of community. "A mention of these improvements reminds us of what after all has been the best change with the last few years--a change in the feelings of the citizens of Lowell. They have begun to cultivate home attachments to the place." Then he described the processes by which cotton and woolen fabrics were produced, the organization of the factory and the conditions of the operatives. His book was not entirely uncritical. There was some overcrowding and need for ventilation in the mills. There was not enough time given for meals. The jobs were monotonous. On the whole though he believed the system was a good one. Dormitories were good, and rents were low. Wages were in cash, not in store orders. Immoral operatives were blacklisted. There was much opportunity for self-improvement. The work day averaged nearer 10½ than 12½ hours, as had been claimed.[5]

Interestingly, what Miles feared most was the emergence of a permanent factory population. He went to great lengths to show that such a population did not yet exist. "We have no permanent factory population. The female operatives in Lowell do not work, on the average, more than four and a half years in the factories." He noted that of the 6,320 female operatives, only one-fourteenth were born in Ireland; three-sevenths were connected with a Sunday school; three-eighths were church members; and 427 had been teachers in common schools.[6]

> The great experiment of Lowell is an experiment of another kind: it is an experiment whether we can preserve here a pure and virtuous population; whether there are no causes secretly at work, and to be developed in the course of thirty or forty years, to lower our standard, and to sink our character; whether we can run a career of half a century free from the corrupting and debasing influences which have almost universally marked manufacturing cities abroad...Have we wisdom, and firmness, and virtue enough, to meet our dangers successfully? That is the true problem to be solved.[7]

This call was one to rationalism, long-term self-interest, and concern for the moral condition of the general population. It was re-echoed in many other instances. The Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, for instance, saw the ambiguous potentialities of the city, and called for an approach to urban problems which would guarantee the moral well-being of urban populations.

> The idea is I believe almost a universal one, that a very dense population within a small space is from the necessity of the case, to a greater or less degree a centre of moral corruption. 'Great cities,' said President Jefferson, 'are great sores.' Disgusting as is this view of their connection with the social state of man in this world, it has yet been thought to be so true to the character of cities, that many a moralist who has agreed with Mr. Jefferson in few other of his principles, has yet quoted this expression to sustain the position, not only that great cities always have generated within themselves deep seated, loathsome, infectious and deadly vices, but that such vices necessarily must, and always will be inseparable from them....But are 'the arts' to be perfected only at the cost of virtue? Did God make the country, and did he not also make the town?[8]

As time passed, it became evident that the earlier optimistic hopes of men such as Whitman and Miles were not to be realized. Industrial enterprises expanded at a great rate, and made no provision for the operatives such as had earlier been made at Waltham and Lowell. Between 1844 and 1862, 1,142 new corporations were created by the legislature, and between 1863 and 1875, 1,644.[9] By the late 1840's it was evident to many that the urban problems which New England had hoped to avoid were present and serious in her cities. As the editor of the Register wrote in 1849: "All our large New England towns are rapidly undergoing a most important social change. From its being silent and gradual, we doubt if the extent of it is often appreciated."[10] Conditions which Tuckerman had spoken of in regard to Boston two decades earlier were now spreading into the interior.

Young Samuel Longfellow, son of Congressman Stephen Longfellow of Portland, Maine, and brother of the poet, was ordained to the ministry of the Fall River Unitarian Society on February 16, 1848. His letters and sermons reveal the reaction of a young, cultured Transcendentalist to urban industrial conditions. He wrote to his mother while he was candidating:

> I preached again to a small congregation in a large church. The town appeared more attractive to me than at first when I thought it a very dismal place. It has the appearance of a place very suddenly grown up--many ordinary and shabby houses and several very large and showy ones, indicating however more money than good-taste. It is a manufacturing town, containing cotton and print mills and iron works; and a great many Irish people....The people are absorbed in business--money making.[11]

Longfellow consistently felt the lack of any sense of community, of the dominance of business and material interests, and found little concern for the plight of the poor. In one sermon he pleaded with his listeners to apply their Christian values to conditions in the city, "especially to the call made upon a Christian church by the suffering and sin that exists in the narrow dirty streets and miserable houses where the Fall River poor live in want and sin." "It seems to me our present manufacturing system is a forced and so unhealthy growth." He found the wealthy not quite so interested in education, "their own true interests," as Bernard Whitman had hoped. "I have been a good deal occupied of late as Chairman of the School Committee about a new school house for the High School. We reported to the Town a tasteful building on a very pleasant spot; which after much talk was rejected: the rich men opposing the expenditure of 10,000 dollars therefore.."[12] When he left Fall River and became minister of a church in Brooklyn, New York, he was still concerned with the problem.

> When, side by side with the growing wealth of our cities, there is a growing permanent pauperism, its awful shadow, the home heathenism, shame of our Christendom. Or when the very system on which this wealth is accumulated is founded upon an un-Christian principle, organizing competition and antagonism instead of cooperation and brotherhood.[13]

Longfellow's feelings were not uncommon. Calvin Lincoln, the minister of First Church, Fitchburg, left his pulpit because he did not feel able to cope with the growing problems of an expanding town.[14] Ministers-at-large, retained by Unitarians to cope with the masses of the unchurched now thronging into Lowell, Worcester, Fall River and other cities, reflected the general dismay, and pleaded with the wealthy who had hired them to exercise more forethought.[15] Almost consistently the records of these ministers-at-large reflect problems of dealing with their wealthy contributors. One, pleading for more support for his efforts in Worcester wrote:

> To instance one family, of 17 persons, shut up in two small rooms, and seven of those persons sick. There was no proper place to which they could be removed, one child died, the mother, I think, can never recover, both lives might have been saved with proper treatment in a clean, well ventilated room. Spiritual seed is well enough, but it grows better under a good roof, and where it can be surrounded by God's light and air. I do wish that men of capital and influence would turn their attention to the dwellings of the poor in this city while there is yet time, before numbers make it almost a hopeless task.[16]

It would be a mistake to see the growth of the city only through the eyes of those whose primary responsibility was working with the poor, or who were social reformers. Not surprisingly, those who spoke to more wealthy congregations saw things more optimistically, and tended to chide their congregations for their materialism, rather than condemn the system itself. They retained a faith in progress. In 1851, Alonzo Hill delivered the sermon at the dedication of the new meeting house of the Second Society in Worcester. While noting the threat of large foreign immigration, he was confident that through Congregational religion and public education, society would be saved. "It was not Calvinism which diffused a glory around the New England character, but it was reverence, it was universal religion; it was, as it has been strikingly said, the desire of progress, the intense yearning for something better in the husk of Calvinism." "I see noble warehouses, halls of science, schools of learning, galleries of art, hospitals for the sick and insane,--all the tokens of a great Christian people. I see in every direction, in the distant horizon, the gigantic train, bearing hither the treasures of every clime, and travellers from all countries." "It is better wisdom to form a generous estimate of our future and provide for it."[17] This discourse was delivered one month before the report, quoted above, which tells of the plight of seventeen people in two rooms, both events occurring in the same city! Probably the optimism of Alonzo Hill was more common than the pessimism of the ministers-at-large. Their clients were very different!

The response of those ministers whose congregations were located in rapidly urbanizing and industrializing cities manifested considerable ambiguity and anxiety towards the changes taking place. Initially they sought to persuade Americans to foresee and avoid the dangers associated with European urbanism. Even as late as the middle 1840's they thought this possible. About 1850, they began to see that some of their worst fears were coming to pass. They perceived the growing division between classes and the impersonalization of society. Some, mainly those whose congregations were middle and upper class, still wrote with a preponderant optimism. They confirmed the success of their parishioners, and the viability of the system. Others, either through personal identification with the lower classes, work with them, or commitment to abstract concepts of social justice (of which Theodore Parker would be the prototype), condemned many of the changes which had created the problems and the values on which they were based. As the century progressed, and as the class composition of Unitarianism narrowed, the social philosophy of the movement came more and more to be an ideological rationalization of middle class values and accomplishments.[18]

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER VI

[1] See Harold Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare: The Impact of Industrialization on the Supply and Organization of Welfare Services in the United States (New York, 1958), and Wilbert E. Moore and Arnold S. Feldman, Eds., Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas (New York, 1960).

[2] (Cambridge, Mass., 1828).

[3] Diary of Amos Lawrence, 103-104.

[4] (Lowell, 1846).

[5] Miles, 44.

[6] Miles, 193-194.

[7] Miles, 215.

[8] Tuckerman, 129.

[9] Kessler, JEH, 46.

[10] November 10, 1849.

[11] Letter to his mother, November 28, 1847.

[12] Letters to Samuel Johnson, September 5, 1848; December 13, 1848; June 30, 1850.

[13] Joseph May, ed., Samuel Longfellow: Essays and Sermons (Boston, 1894), p. 116.

[14] Stebbins, Rev. Calvin Lincoln, 58.

[15] See, for example, Horatio Wood, The Sixth Annual Report of the Minister at Large in Lowell, to the Lowell Missionary Society (Lowell, 1850). Wood's annual reports throughout twenty-five years of working with the poor of the city are an invaluable index of conditions and attitudes. A similar plea was made by the Rev. Warren Burton. See his Report on the Ministry at Large in the City of Worcester, for One Year, Ending April 14, 1850 (Worcester, n.d.).

[16] SPP, Unity Box, 1844-59, File 1850-51. From a hand-written report by the Rev. Francis LeBaron, April 1851.

[17] The Glory of the Latter House: A Discourse Delivered at the Dedication of the Meeting-House of the Second Congregational Society in Worcester, March 26, 1851 (Worcester, 1851), p. 44. Could Hill's "gigantic train" have been a "Celestial Railroad?"

[18] This ideology is dealt with at length in chapters VIII and X.

CHAPTER VII

SECULARIZATION OF THE STATE: A COVENANT FINALLY DISOWNED AND THE PAINFUL ADJUSTMENT

Politics involves power. An ultimate resort to force is always implied whenever a political system supports one of another sort. Societies have differed as to what interests were of such common necessity as to compel their populations to acknowledge them. Certainly the union of church and state is an index of the degree to which leaders in a culture feel religion to be a social necessity. From the time of its founding by the Puritans, the citizens of Massachusetts had generally agreed that religion was a vital interest of society. The feeling persisted into the early nineteenth century.

I pointed out in Chapter III that the Constitution of 1780 required every town to support public worship and maintain a minister. Every inhabitant of the town was considered a member of the congregation. He was assessed for the requisite funds, required to observe the sabbath, and encouraged to attend the Sunday service. In 1799, the legislature provided that the taxes of dissenters might be given to their own local ministers, and a certification procedure for this purpose was enunciated. Dissenters still resented the dominance of the Congregational church, however, and sought complete religious freedom. A complex of factors permitted them to succeed by 1834.

The French Revolution had struck fear into the hearts of many New Englanders. Some interpreted it as a threat to property rights. Others thought of it as an unwanted complication of their English trading interests. The clergy interpreted it as an attack on revealed religion, and a conspiracy against God. Conservative political interests and established religious interests united in support of the Federalist party. Congregational ministers attacked the pro-French Jeffersonians. The Republicans, on the other hand, combined an opposition to monopoly and the middle class with an opposition to the union of church and state made more bitter because many Republicans were dissenters taxed against their will to support Congregational churches. Politics tended to revolve around religious identification. Baptists and Methodists were Republicans. Congregationalists were Federalists. Consequently, as often outspoken and vociferous Federalist advocates, the clergy soon came under the bitter attack of the Republicans. As a Republican leader wrote:

> It has been my lot for thirteen years past to be opposed by the clergy, from whom I have received the most abusive treatment I ever met with. According to the best information I have, there is not so useless and hurtful a set of public men in our country as the clergy. A man needs not a great share of knowledge to see that as a body of men they are professed enemies of our Republican government, and open enemies of the President.[1]

In the years immediately following the turn of the century the various sects experienced a period of expansion, attracting through their simple and emotional preaching many of the poorer and less educated citizens of the state. Isaac Backus, the greatest early Baptist leader in New England, wrote to a friend in 1796:

> And though the teachers and rulers of the uppermost party in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont are as earnest as ever Pharaoh was, to hold the church of Christ under the taxing power of the world, to support religious ministers, yet that power is daily consuming by the Spirit of God's mouth, and the brightness of his coming. The credit of Baptist churches and ministers is daily rising, in all parts of our country...In and after 1734, there were but six Baptist churches in all the governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and none in New Hampshire; Vermont was not then begun. Yet in these four States, there are now two hundred and eighty-five Baptist churches, and they are increasing fast, against all the powers of the world.[2]

Backus's words were confirmed by the somewhat more objective Reverend William Bentley of Salem, one of the very few Unitarian Congregationalists who was also an ardent Republican.

> The various sects have prevailed so far in Massachusetts as to embrace a great part of the population. For tho' societies are not formed and houses of worship built yet in all our incorporations a number may be found who are prevented only from want of some enterprising man to engage in the work of separation.[3]

When the Republicans won full control of the state government under the leadership of Governor James Sullivan during the winter of 1807-1808, a bill was introduced which would relieve the complaints of the dissenters. William Bentley, noting the close vote by which the bill was defeated, predicted that the passage of a similar bill would soon be inevitable.[4] Three years later, when the Federalists had regained control, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts handed down an opinion that to be eligible for receipt of tax money a society must be incorporated.[5] Since very few dissenting churches were incorporated this provoked an increase of protests against the system.[6] As a result, the Federalist legislature in 1811 passed "An Act respecting Public Worship and Religious Freedom." The act over-ruled the court decision, stating that:

> All monies paid by any citizen of this Commonwealth to the support of public worship, or of public teachers of religion, shall, if such citizen require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he usually attends, as well where such teacher or teachers is or are the teacher or teachers of an unincorporated as of a corporate religious society.[7]

The act then spelled out a certification procedure whereby the sect member could file with the town clerk such a request. While the act permitted assessments to go to the local society of one's choice, it did not provide for situations in which there was no local denomination of the person's choice, or in which the inhabitant wished to support no society. All inhabitants were still taxed for the support of religion. Nevertheless, the act conciliated many of those who sought complete separation of church and state.

In 1820 two events, one judicial and the other political, upset the religious status quo. The first was the famous Dedham Case, Baker v. Fales, in which the court decided that a Congregational church, apart from the society of which it was part, had no existence, and could not hold property. If the majority of the members of such a church voted to secede from the parish, then they did so only as individuals, and the minority which remained constituted the church of the parish, and those deacons elected by the minority retained possession of all church property. The effect of this decision was that where the majority of a church which was orthodox voted to secede from a parish, the majority of which was liberal, the liberals retained control of all the wealth and property. It has been estimated that orthodox Congregationalism lost a third of its church buildings, or about $600,000.[8] Since the Chief Justice who delivered the opinion was a Unitarian, the orthodox Congregationalists immediately cried foul. Even later Unitarians have recognized some injustice, if not illegality in the decision. Ellis wrote:

> That the issue raised was so perplexing a one, as I have said, relieves the decisions of our highest legal tribunals from the imputation of injustice, and yet makes it not inconsistent for me to add, that I do not feel perfectly satisfied with them.[9]

The second event was the Constitutional Convention which convened on November 15, 1820, and continued its deliberations throughout the next year. A substantial number of the delegates sought a constitutional amendment which would provide for the complete separation of church and state, or at least the incorporation of the substance of the act of 1811 in the Constitution. The issue was extensively and very hotly debated by the delegates, who finally agreed to certain modifications in Article III of the Constitution of 1780. The proposition they recommended to the voters read as follows:

> The power and the duty of the Legislature to require provision to be made for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public teachers, shall not be confined to Protestant teachers, but shall extend and be applied equally to all public Christian teachers of piety, religion

> and morality; and shall also extend and be applied equally to all religious societies, whether incorporated or unincorporated.
>
> All moneys paid by the subject for the support of public worship and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers, if there be any, on whose instructions he attends, whether of the same, or of a different sect or denomination from that of the parish or religious society in which the said moneys are raised.
>
> Provided, that all taxes assessed for the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, upon the real estate of any non-resident proprietor or proprietors, shall be applied towards the support of public worship in the town, precinct or parish, by which such taxes are assessed; unless such proprietor or proprietors shall be resident within this Commonwealth, and shall be of a different sect or denomination of Christians from that of the town, precinct or parish by which such taxes are assessed.
>
> The clause in the third article of the declaration of rights, which invests the Legislature with authority to enjoin, on all the subjects of the Commonwealth, an attendance upon the instruction of public teachers, shall be and hereby is annulled.[10]

The debates of the convention provide a useful index to the various opinions regarding the appropriate goals of the religious social system. Many delegates, including such prominent Unitarians as the Rev. Henry Ware, the Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, and the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall accepted the point of view of the authors of the Constitution of 1780. A delegate from Boston, Warren Dutton, esq., explicitly enunciated their opinion.

> ...it became the duty of the State to establish the Christian religion, because it aided the highest and best purposes of the State--its tendency was to make better subjects and better magistrates, better husbands, parents and children. It enforced the duties of imperfect obligations which human laws could

> not reach--it inculcated all the domestic and social virtues, frugality and industry, prudence, kind and charitable feeling--it made men just and honest in their dealings as individuals, and by diffusing the sentiments of equity and benevolence, its tendency was to make states and communities just towards each other.

Dutton then attacked voluntarism.

> But it is said that religion is so important that men will voluntarily support it. In the first place, it proceeds wholly on a mistake; for it supposes that men will always do what is for their permanent welfare to do. This is not true. Reason is against it; all experience is against it...Take the case of a small parish, of which there were hundreds in the Commonwealth, just able to support a Christian teacher. One man living at a distance drops off; another and another follows, till the burden becomes too oppressive for the few who remain. The pastor is compelled to leave his flock; and all the countless blessings of public worship, Christian instruction and Christian ordinances are lost forever...He considered the two provisions in the constitution--the one providing for the establishment of schools, and the other for a system of moral instruction at the public expense, as laying the only sure foundation of free government.[11]

Surprisingly, the proposed amendments of Article III were not approved by the electorate. The changes in the Bill of Rights, which almost entirely dealt with that article, lost by 8,482 votes.[12] It was one of five out of fourteen proposals defeated. One of the other proposals defeated would have amended the constitution so as to allow the election to the Board of Overseers of Harvard University of "ministers of the gospel, of any denomination."[13] Only Suffolk favored both amendments.

Darling and others attribute the defeat of the Federalist candidate for governor, Harrison Gray Otis, in 1823, in part to his Unitarian sentiments, and Congregationalist dissatisfaction with the Dedham case. Yet certain factors lead me to question this. Suffolk county (Boston) was alone among all counties in the state in approving the amendment allowing wider representation of clergymen on the board of Harvard, and one of only two which favored the amendment liberalizing Article III of the Constitution of 1780. Since Boston was the center of Unitarian Congregational sentiment, it would not seem quite logical to blame on them the continuing establishment. If the orthodox had wished to combine with the dissenters in an attack on the establishment, then they would have done so by persuading them to support the new amendment, which was presented to the voters more than a year after the Dedham decision. Furthermore, Unitarianism was not only strongest in Boston, but strongest in those cities of the state which at that time made provision for public worship on an entirely voluntary basis, namely Salem and Newburyport. Orthodox Congregationalists had many more churches in rural areas of the state than did the Unitarians, and these small churches were most likely to be hurt by disestablishment. While the Jeffersonian Republicans may have appealed to theological prejudice, it is not likely that Unitarian sentiment on church and state was very crucial. This appears even more likely when we note that the Republican candidate for Lieut. Governor was Levi Lincoln of Worcester, a dedicated Unitarian. It was therefore a case of there being a Unitarian on both Republican and Federalist ballots.

If we examine the records of the Constitutional Convention we find that every delegate from Worcester was a Unitarian, and that they are all recorded as favoring those amendments which would have resulted in complete disestablishment, but which were not approved by the convention.[14] It is therefore evident that the Unitarians throughout the state did not present a united front against disestablishment.

Given these facts, it is doubtful if the act of 1823 entitled "An Act in addition to an Act, entitled 'An Act respecting Public Worship and Religious Freedom;" can be construed as entirely anti-Unitarian. In fact, the Act of 1823 made no changes in already enacted laws except to simplify and clarify procedures. Thus, where under the Act of 1811 a person who wished to join a dissenting society was required to file a certificate signed by a special committee of that society, he now had to file a certificate signed only by the clerk of that society. If the act had been directed against First Parishes from which orthodox churches had split then why should the bill have explicitly stated that "any person who may come to dwell within any town in this Commonwealth, shall be deemed and taken to be a member of the oldest religious society in said town."[15] The Act of 1823 somewhat simplified already established practice, reaffirmed it, but made no important changes. If it had been directed against the Unitarians it would have dealt with church property rights, just as the Act of 1811, which was directed against a court decision, explicitly allowed members of unincorporated societies to direct that their taxes be paid to those societies.

The final separation of church and state in Massachusetts had to wait another decade. During the governorship of Levi Lincoln the legislature adopted an amendment to the Constitution which completely separated church and state, and which was accepted overwhelmingly by the voters. The amendment read:

> As the public worship of God, and instructions in piety, religion, and morality, promote the happiness and prosperity of a people, and the security of a republican government; therefore, the several religious societies of this Commonwealth, whether corporate or unincorporate, at any meeting regularly warned and holden for that purpose, shall ever have the right to elect their pastors or religious teachers, to contract with them for support, to raise money for erecting and repairing houses for public worship, for the maintenance of religious instruction, and for the payment of necessary expenses: And all persons belonging to any religious society shall be taken and held to be members, until they shall file with the clerk of such society a written notice declaring the dissolution of their membership, and thenceforth shall not be liable for any grant or contract which may be thereafter made or entered into by such society: And all religious sects and denominations, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good citizens of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.[16]

It is true that this amendment did not pass until orthodox Congregationalists realized that establishment was no longer useful to their own interests. In the last years of the third decade they began to realize that as long as orthodox churches were tied to parishes which included many liberals and non-believers the churches would be threatened by parish domination. Congregational periodicals and clergymen, among whom one of the most outspoken was the Rev. Parsons Cooke, began to attack establishment.[17] As a Congregationalist was to write many years later: "The churches which began in New England by becoming the state, came out of state connection in absolute bondage to a parish system, which they could not secede from without legal extinction." "Our retarded growth as a denomination is mainly due, we believe, to the church-state in New England, and its direct and indirect results."[18] Ironically, what was true of orthodox Congregationalism was also true of Unitarian Congregationalism.

The separation of church and state in Massachusetts was perhaps the most significant event in American Unitarian history. The event itself, and the change in attitudes which accompanied it, fundamentally altered the conditions under which Unitarianism had flourished. As a result, it changed from a growing movement to a struggling denomination, only gradually and painfully adapting to the new voluntary nature of American religious social systems. Attitudes which developed before 1833 still dominate the Unitarian movement today, and retard its growth, though the origin of these attitudes is seldom recognized.

Until 1833 all inhabitants of Massachusetts towns except Quakers were liable to taxation for religious support. Neither the act of 1811 nor that of 1823 had interfered with the power of assessment. Many historians have mistakenly assumed that when a parish separated from the town that this was the effective separation of church and state. This was not true. The parish retained the same powers of taxation after town and parish had separated as the town had before exercised in its parochial capacity.

The acts of 1811 and 1823 had simply provided that members of dissenting sects could have their taxes applied to their own local society and its minister. But what of those who were not especially attracted to the Baptist or Methodist church? What of the inhabitants in those many towns (the majority) where there was no organized Baptist or Methodist church?

During the same period the orthodox Congregational church itself, under the leadership of such men as Jedediah Morse and Lyman Beecher, was adopting certain basic changes in theology and organization which were necessary for an effective counterattack on the growing liberalism and secularism of New England culture. While there were a wide variety of theological opinions, there was general agreement on the necessity of conversion (rather than "Christian nurture").

> The opening of the revival era, in 1797, saw the Half-way-Covenant system, though sorely wounded and argumentatively discredited, still largely in operation among the churches. Before the close of the period it had vanished from existence. The system could not stand the intense emphasis which the series of awakenings had put upon the necessity of personal religious experience as the only proper condition of membership in a Christian church. And so, long before this series of awakenings had terminated, the system, founded on another and incompatible theory of church-fellowship, itself died. Gradually waning, apparently its last breath was drawn about 1825 or 1828.[19]

Yet, at no time in the history of New England had even a majority of the inhabitants been church members. The effect of the orthodox counter attack was to make the church more exclusive at a time when other sects were growing, but also when the church by judicial decision was dependent upon the parish of the uncommitted who did not care for the sectarian emphases of the counter attack. Perhaps they were unbelievers, perhaps emotionalism did not appeal to them, perhaps they possessed a conventional religious social motive, perhaps they were primarily interested in other things, perhaps they were theologically committed to another sect. At any rate, the orthodox counter attack, including refusal to exchange with ministers who did not share their opinions, made it very difficult for the large number of parishioners who did not share orthodox Congregational belief, and were yet taxed to support their ministers.

Unitarian Congregationalism appealed to these groups as well as to theologically committed Arminians and Unitarians. While many of the liberal ministers tended theologically to be Unitarians, many did not consider the doctrine especially important. It was the orthodox attack more than their own initiative which created Unitarianism as a definite movement. Men such as Morse were as paranoid in this regard as they were in regard to such supposed conspiracies as those of the Bavarian Illuminati. During the first three decades of the nineteenth century many so-called Unitarian ministers went out of their way to avoid theological controversy. Their preaching was primarily moral rather than doctrinal. They distinguished between what they considered essential Christian beliefs—Christ, the authority of the Scriptures, immortality—and the philosophy of religion, which they thought was a matter of individual opinion. William B. O. Peabody, minister for more than twenty years of the Springfield Unitarian Society, described the conditions of the Society's founding as follows:

> The separation was owing, if I am rightly informed, to causes and questions not connected with the Unitarian faith which was then spreading in the eastern part of the state. The seceders generally held to Arminian or old fashioned Calvinistic opinions as they were then called, meaning opinions from which nearly all but the name of Calvinism had died away. Some of the members of the first church had become dissatisfied for the alleged reason that the course of exchanges was less liberal than in former years. This, with kindred reasons of discontent, had produced an alienation which it seemed impossible to heal.[20]

The problem, then, was one of what I have called procedural (maintenance) conditions at the parish level. Unitarian Congregationalism grew because its clergymen emphasized freedom of belief and tolerance of divergent opinions in parishes which were divided into several different theological parties, and which included many of the religiously indifferent or conventional as well. Unitarian Congregationalists emphasized the necessity for integration of members of the parish as a social system, as well as the social control function of religion, the inculcation of social and moral virtues. Such clergymen were important to the majority of parish members without clearly defined or extraordinary theological commitment who had still to pay taxes to support the parish. As their parish voting records show, they often preferred a broad-minded public teacher of religion to an enthusiast. The sword of Christ was not especially welcome in many towns.

When church and state were separated, those conditions which had created a need for a liberal ministry no longer existed. If someone did not wish to pay parish taxes all he had to do was "sign off." Religious societies became entirely voluntary associations dependent for financial support and membership upon the appeal of their rituals, doctrines and services. At the same time the general attitude towards religion of the general population changed. It became a matter of private concern, not of public importance. A person's religious beliefs were his own business. Public behavior was governed by law and custom, and according to what was thought to be "Christian ethics," which all faiths supposedly shared. Thus society protected itself from overly divisive religious controversy. I have already shown how the manufacturing corporations adopted a policy of neutrality. Thus Unitarian Congregationalism, in a sense, was generalized, but in another sense, as a movement, became irrelevant. Now the religious freedom for which liberal ministers had pleaded was incorporated in the basic law of the state, not only in terms of belief, but in terms of organization. Separation allowed citizens of the Commonwealth to practice somewhat paradoxical behavior — to be tolerant in public, in business, in politics, but to be intolerant in their private religious associations. Religion became a special compartment in the minds of most Americans.

The complex hypothesis suggested in these paragraphs is supported by much direct and indirect evidence with which I shall now deal. It also accounts for certain changes which began about the same time as separation in the specific social systems we are examining, changes which have to do with maintenance conditions in those systems. First, I will note certain changes in the culture world of which the constitutional changes were a symptom. Then I will investigate the problems of membership brought out in chapter III and problems of social class in chapter V, especially in smaller parishes, as well as in our specific systems. Finally, I will investigate the problems of membership and financing which our specific systems were forced to confront as a result of the separation of church and state.

The change in the culture world is evidenced by certain vital differences in the wording of Article III of the Constitution of 1780 and the amendment of 1833. Article III had based the need for legislative support of public worship on social necessity:

> As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of GOD, and of public instructions in piety, religion and morality: Therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this Commonwealth have a right to....

Earlier in this chapter we saw that similar arguments were presented at the time of the Convention of 1820. In 1833 some repeated these earlier arguments. Justice Joseph Story spoke at length on the topic at the Annual Meeting of the American Unitarian Association in 1832. In part he said:

> It is now two hundred years since our ancestors came to this very spot to secure themselves and their posterity the blessings of religious worship and liberty, that is, of what in the sincerity of their hearts they believed to be such. For this purpose they provided for the public worship of God and for the maintenance of parish ministers by a compulsive taxation. And yet we are now called upon by a Constitutional Amendment to uproot all this goodly system, and to introduce among ourselves the experiment, how far religion can be safely left to take care of itself. I do not say, that this step ought not to be taken; or that it cannot be safely taken. But I do say, that the subject, momentous as it confessedly is, has not attracted, and does not attract, any attention proportionate to its vast reach and consequences. No nation on earth has such strong reasons for fencing itself round on every side with the great principles of morals and religion as America. We have thrown off all the guards which have been industriously planted in other countries to sustain and protect their institutions, good or evil. We have no hereditary peerage, no established church, no standing army, no royal prerogative, no influence of patronage, no fixed ranks and castes in society, which cannot be overleaped, and therefore protect what is weak in the system, and cover what is imperfect. Our system of government is formed upon a perfect equality of rights and powers, upon a freedom to think and act, to elect and to be elected, running through every order of society. Everything here is subjected to public opinion. What then can preserve us from mischievous innovations, from the restlessness of corrupt ambition, and the overthrow of our best institutions, but a sound, healthy, and enlightened state of moral and religious feeling, as well as opinion? To be safe, we must be sure that there lies at the bottom of our social organization a deep sense of religious obligation to God, as well as to man. It is our last, it is our only barrier against oppression on one side, and anarchy on the other.[21]

Story's was not the only Unitarian voice raised in implied opposition to the amendment, for the opposition to the amendment in the state senate was also led by Unitarian laymen. After the amendment had passed the Rev. Peter Osgood of Sterling voiced a similar but more ambiguous position. "As a citizen of this ancient Commonwealth, I regret that state of public sentiment, which demanded an alteration of the Bill of Rights. As it regards my own feelings as a minister of Jesus Christ, I rejoice that the change has taken place." Osgood saw the change as a threat to the smaller rural parishes which would lose necessary financial support, and which would place the churches and their ministers in a position dependent upon the wealthy. Like Story and the other conservatives he also emphasized the importance of religion to the state and its citizens as a means of social control.

> Without religious principle, neither property nor life is secure. Take away from a community the silent and private influences of religion and conscience, and the arm of the civil law would place but a feeble check on human crime and selfishness. The peace, the good order, and the welfare of the community, are essentially promoted by the regular maintenance of public worship. It is a means of moral and intellectual improvement, and should be supported as a branch of public education. The rich man is interested in the diffusion of religious knowledge and christian principles in proportion to the amount of property he possesses. If public worship were abolished, and the Sabbath generally profaned, property would be more insecure, and poverty and crime would become more frequent, and he would be obliged to pay a larger tax for the support of paupers and the detection of criminals. He ought then in justice to pay his proportion for the support of public worship, as well as for the support of our courts of justice, or our houses of correction. In a political point of view their objects are the same, the protection of life and property.[22]

Such arguments apparently had little general acceptance in 1833. Religion was either not a matter of this world, as with some of the sects, or was only of private concern. At an annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association in 1830 the Hon. James Savage had spoken favorably of the separation of church and state and competition between sects.[23] On the whole, however, Unitarians were much more reticent on the matter than one would expect, given their strong advocacy of the strict separation of church and state in the twentieth century.

Because of our cultural bias in favor of disestablishment, and because most historians have written the history of disestablishment from the point of view of a righteous crusade for freedom, few have ever examined the possible validity of some of those arguments presented by opponents of disestablishment. However it is likely that such an investigation would show that the perpetual failure of Protestantism to appeal to lower class Americans; the essentially middle and upper class nature of the American Protestant church; its low intellectual attainments; and the dependent and insecure position of many of its ministers are partly due to problems of maintenance caused by the separation of church and state. While religious groups have been outstandingly successful in a material sense in America, there is some question whether they have been successful for religious or theological reasons. It is probably true that separation of church and state resulted in a lowering of theological standards. The necessity of attracting popular support led clergymen to the use of revival techniques and sermon styles, as well as theological simplifications which led American religion down the path to bibliolotry, fundamentalism, and extreme individualism.

Many of these results were anticipated by the critics of disestablishment quite correctly. While they were undoubtedly pleading the special interests of both orthodox and Unitarian Congregationalists, they should also be given credit for anticipating some of the problems of American popular religion which contemporary theologians and religious sociologists have only begun to point out in recent decades. They argued not only from the point of view of the importance of religion for social control, but from the point of view of the dependence of religion on popular support, and the effect of this dependence on standards. In the case of the Unitarians, their particular heresies and their belief that the truth of certain doctrines was so uncertain as to allow wide differences of opinion among reasonable men, has distracted historians from acknowledging the serious commitment to theology and Biblical scholarship among some of their number, and the rather high degree of sophistication of both ministers and laymen, no doubt in part due to the generally higher level of educational attainment among adherents. Today they would probably be thought somewhat conservative in the Protestant theological world.

The separation of church and state in many parishes adversely affected the Unitarians. Since the conditions which had caused liberal opinions to appeal in heterogeneous parishes had now changed, the support of such ministers dwindled. Throughout the next decades Unitarian spokesmen were concerned with these new problems, and with understanding their origin. In

January 1834 Bernard Whitman assessed the state of the parishes within the Middlesex Unitarian Association.

> In the county of Middlesex, according to the old arrangement, there are forty nine towns.-- There are twenty four Unitarian societies which have settled pastors. None of these are in a bad condition; most are in a good condition; some are in a very flourishing condition; a few of the number however, will probably suffer more or less from the amendment of the third article.[24]

His report was optimistic. His brother, the Rev. Jason Whitman, wrote an extensive report in 1836 on the state of the churches, from his point of view as Secretary of the American Unitarian Association.

> The number of clergymen dismissed from their ministerial charges -- The number of changes in the location of ministers, and the number of Parishes which seem to be crumbling to pieces, although small when compared with the whole number of Parishes and of Clergymen, is yet large when compared with the number which at any former period have been in the same situation. Those parishes which seem to be crumbling to pieces, and from which clergymen are dismissed, may be divided into two classes. The first of these is composed of old Territorial Parishes. These have formerly been held together by the laws of the land -- or the customs of society, or by personal attachments to particular places of worship and particular ministers of the Gospel. They have moved on with more or less quietness, although they have embraced within their limits men of different religious speculations and different religious sympathies. But the laws of the land for the support of religious institutions have by degrees and in one state after another been repealed -- the customs of society have changed -- and long cherished attachments have melted away in the heat of religious excitement, or have given place to new and more powerful attachments. And then too, Christians of other denominations have been actively engaged in distributing their books and tracts....in erecting houses of worship for the accommodation of those willing to

> unite with them. ......In large, compact and flourishing towns and villages the evils of this division will not be felt. But in small towns and where the population is scattered there is reason to feel that religious institutions will not be regularly supported.

Whitman indicated that many Unitarians were refusing to face the problems created by the new situation. Furthermore "there should be an endeavor to bring about among the members of our societies a more clear and accurate acquaintance with our peculiar views of divine truth and of the grounds on which they rest." "The great mass of our denomination are, at this present time, more ignorant than the mass of almost any other denomination of their peculiar views and of the grounds on which they rest." He goes on to note the lack of cooperation among Unitarian societies and their lack of friendliness.[25]

The situation was serious enough so that by 1838 between 30 and 40 Unitarian societies in New England required outside financial assistance.[26] By 1842 the number of societies needing help had reached 50. Many of them were 'old societies ...weakened by sectarian influences."[27] By the next year the number had reached 60 to 70.[28] By now the denomination was going through a period of deep anxiety and self-doubt which was to last until after the Civil War. The hopes engendered at the time of the Unitarian Controversy had proven false. The reason for failure was only dimly understood. In addition, the denomination was divided by the Transcendentalist controversy, as well as Abolition and other social reform movements. The

Rev. Alonzo Hill of Worcester could complain at an annual meeting of the Association--

> Allusion has been made to a great and growing irreverence for things sacred and venerable. The value of institutions has been called in question, which have hitherto been regarded as inviolable--rites and ordinances are falling into the disuse, once deemed necessary aids to higher religious advance--and respect for the laws, the magistracy, and the ministry, has evidently declined.[29]

The effect of the separation of church and state is shown very clearly if we now return to the membership figures for our specific historical systems. We now understand why the membership of Second Parish, Worcester declined from 316 in 1832 to 159 in 1840; why during this period Fall River nearly went bankrupt; why First Parish, Fitchburg decreased in membership. If the records were available no doubt this would also be true of most of the other parishes.

The only complete records are for Worcester. By 1833, Second Parish had been in existence nearly half a century. As probably the first poll parish in the state it had been open to any inhabitant of Worcester township. Since 1797, its members had been assessed for support of the parish. It provided a local alternative for those who did not care for the high Calvinism of First Parish, or for its exclusive church membership policies. In 1831, the parish had gained 56 new members while losing only ten. The next year 75 new members joined and only eight left. No doubt among them were some of the migrants moving into the new city. Yet in 1834, the first year after disestablishment, 29 "signed off," another 20 the next year, several the year after that. For the next decade, the number of losses far exceeded the number of new members as inhabitants took advantage of the fact that they were no longer required to support religion.[30] Such losses were serious even for a large and prosperous church. What must they have implied for smaller, less secure parishes?

If the parishes wished to survive and compete, then they must adopt new maintenance techniques for gaining and retaining members and financial support. They must educate their members in the meaning of Unitarianism. This last necessity in itself was no easy challenge. It was becoming apparent that only a few of the parishioners (and this tends to confirm our general thesis) were actually interested in Unitarianism as a distinct theological point of view. Jason Whitman wrote of the membership, especially of new societies:

> These societies are composed of men of different views and different feelings. There are some who have studied the Bible for themselves, who are truly pious and devout, who cannot be edified where they have usually worshipped, and who are ready to make great sacrifices of their property and to put forth their most strenuous exertions that they may enjoy the ordinances and ministrations of the gospel in a manner according with their views of gospel truth and order. There is another class, composed of the generous hearted and high minded. They are firm supporters of good order, willing and liberal contributors to the maintenance of religious institutions, and are ordinarily present at worship of the sanctuary. But they are not men who have become or who profess to have become particularly interested in personal religious improvement. And then there is in some places a third class, composed of some who are dissatisfied with the peculiarities of orthodoxy, and others who perhaps dislike the requirements and sanctions of all religion, of some who wish not to hear of human accountableness, and others who care for none of these things. When a separation takes place, men of this class, mistaking

> the term liberal for indifference to all seriousness or neglect of all devotion, for looseness of speculation or recklessness of conduct, connect themselves with the new society.[31]

Four years later a correspondent who signed himself "J.F." dealt with the same subject in the Register. What causes the low membership of Unitarian churches, he asked?

> Many of our Societies in the country are remnants of old and large Societies. When a parish is divided, it is often the case that most of the church, and the more serious and religiously inclined become the Orthodox Society; the remainder make up the Unitarian Society....The Unitarian Society has intelligent and virtuous men and women belonging to it. But they have but little of a decidedly religious and Christian character. Many of them are perplexed--many are prejudiced.... Many who are nominally with us, attach but little importance to Christian ordinances and institutions. They have their doubts about the sanctity of the Sabbath. They do not as yet feel that it is their duty to attend public worship...They will be friends to religion and friends to God; but they can be tied down to no form and no law.[32]

It seems likely then that the number of people ever interested in Unitarianism as a peculiar theological doctrine, or in liberal Christian rationalism, was always quite small, as it always has been, but other conditions related to establishment, as well as to objections against an extreme Calvinism, had deceived Unitarian leaders into believing they were leading a large movement. With the separation of church and state, the development of the extremely effective technique of evangelism, and theological modifications made by Taylor and his followers, the Unitarian situation radically changed, so much, in fact, that the survival of the movement itself became questionable.[33]

The problem of survival is not quite the same as the problem of equilibrium. Maintenance of equilibrium, if by that maintenance of status quo is meant, may make survival impossible. On the other hand, if, by equilibrium, a process of gradual adjustment is implied, to which all other parts of the social system can gradually adapt, our historical information would lead us to suggest that while in some cases adaptation was gradual, in other cases it was radical, and involved social system innovations which went beyond mere equilibrium maintenance of the old system. In support of this view, I shall look closely at membership and financial maintenance in the specific historical systems.

Before separation both membership and financial support were guaranteed by legislative sanction. Parishes as social systems depended on those sanctions as far as virtually all maintenance conditions were concerned. The change in their relationship to the political system required a substantial adjustment of the religious social system. Hitherto ministers had not needed to seek members or placate most parishioners. The religious activities of the system had been almost entirely limited to Sunday services, Christian ordinances, weddings and funerals, attendance on the dying, and some catechetical instruction. The social goals of the religious social system were narrowly prescribed.

In the mid-1830's, Unitarians first realized that the old procedural conditions were no longer adequate. They were faced with the task of analyzing why they were not growing as rapidly as other sects, and with developing techniques of maintenance. Throughout the decades between separation and the Civil War their periodicals and reports were filled with discussion of the problem. In part, this was a problem of membership education. Habitually, they thought of religious goals as almost entirely related to public worship. Personal sociability, mutual support, self-improvement, social reform, were all activities unconnected with religion, from their point of view. Both the precedent of establishment, which had made the seeking of members unnecessary, and their theological point of view, which tolerated wide differences of Christian opinion, as well as their social status, militated against persuasive membership campaigns or missionary work. Furthermore, probably an influx of new people would have seemed to many old residents threatening. Yet many, especially among the clergy, recognized that adaptation was necessary.

Pressure began to develop to involve laymen in the everyday activities of the churches. Before separation such activity had been limited to one or two parish meetings a year, and occasional concern with buildings or assessments. Despite the theoretical commitment to congregational polity, organizational work by laymen was nearly non-existent in established churches before 1833. A correspondent, signing himself SCRUTATOR, wrote to the Register.

> With the exception of the Sabbath School Association, these are merely clerical. And although it cannot be denied that through the clergy an indirect, but certain good is derived to the great body to whom they minister, yet it seems clearly evident that we need a lay representation to awaken in our Churches such a lay interest and efforts as are witnessed in

> other bodies. The time has gone by
> when the Clergy were the Church, or the
> sole representatives of it. Society has
> taken out of the hands of the Clergy much
> of what once was sacred to them.[34]

About the same time critics began to point to defects in the system which many churches had adopted, both in building drives, and for raising current expenses, that of selling pews to individuals, and taxing them a certain amount each year on the basis of the pew's assessed valuation. The technique discouraged the poor from attending church. A correspondent who signed himself "W" called the system "unchristian," and so-called free churches were advocated, that is, churches in which all pews were free, neither rented, nor privately owned.[35]

Unitarians also were not welcoming newcomers to their churches. As the editorial writer of the Christian Register complained in 1853: "The extent of the lack of mutual friendliness and social sympathy in some of our societies, can hardly be described. Often there is a more affiliated feeling among the members of a Banking Corporation or an Engine Company." "But of one thing we have the profoundest conviction, viz., that we have now touched the sore spot on our denominational body, the cancer that is eating into our vitals."[36]

It is evident that some parishes were attempting to adapt to new conditions. The decades following 1830 were universally a period when the social structure of the historical systems changed, and in which there was a considerable amount of trial and error experimentation in social organization.

Second Parish, Worcester, first created a membership committee in 1837. At the annual meeting the parish voted such a committee "to attend to the getting of new members to the parish." Whether the committee was effective or not we do not know, but six years later a similar motion was passed. "Voted. That a Committee of three be chosen to call on such persons as are accustomed to attend public Worship with this society regularly and request them to become Members of the Parish." A meeting one week later reiterated the request "that a Committee be raised to call on such persons as are known to be Unitarians, who may from time to time come to Worcester to reside, and invite them to associate themselves with this Parish, and also procure seats for Strangers who may come to our Church on the Sabbath." Such votes were frequent during the annual meetings of the next two decades. The formation of such committees was unprecedented in the parish's history, not only in the sense of the simple existence of such a committee, but in the sense of lay activity in such a matter. The actual power of the committee to admit members to the parish was established by vote in 1855. By the middle 1840's, other committees were being established as well, including committees on assessments, contributions, singing, strangers, and library. These were in addition to the Sunday school.[37] Alonzo Hill, minister of the society for more than forty years, well summarized the change that had taken place in his lifetime.

> A half a century ago the whole duty of the congregation consisted in a superstitious —for the minister—a faithful attendance, forenoon and afternoon, on his services and unquestioning faith in his dogmas. This obligation and their whole duty was done.

> No feeling of individual responsibility, no powers of persuasion, no earnest labor, but that of the pastor--and so scores of thoughtful laymen, whose various gifts might have added much, came and went thro their generations and did nothing to spread a larger intelligence and deeper life in the church. But now all is changed. Within a few years a new spirit and new method of growth have sprung up among and around us. Now laymen and laywomen are seen among the foremost in bearing along the sacred ark of awakening higher sentiment and giving a deeper devotion to this community. What a day for us when our parishes were expressly organized for parochial work! When committees were chosen and duties were assigned to each as they were fitted to discharge them.[38]

Though the records of the other historical systems are not as complete, it is evident that the development of the participation of laymen in the work of the parish through the committee system, and the commissioning of membership committees was a general trend in Unitarian parishes during the period. The failure of some parishes to grow may also have been due to lack of such organization. Thus, Samuel Longfellow tried to involve his parish through discussion groups and social gatherings, but did not mention membership committees, despite campaigns by other local churches for members. He was convinced that different denominations appealed to different types or classes of people, and that membership depended on this variable. During his ministry the parish gained almost no new members.[39]

The first membership committee of First Parish, Waltham was authorized by the membership in 1835. The next year it was empowered to admit as member anyone who wished to join and who would signify his wish in writing.[40] In this parish too, committee involvement of laymen developed about the same time. In addition to the Sunday school which had existed for several years, a women's group was formed. There were also a church library and singing groups.[41] In First Parish, Fitchburg, concern with membership apparently began somewhat later. A membership book was begun in 1843, and the assessors were granted the authority to admit new members. In 1867 a committee on parish organization noted the need for more social life and for a welcome of new members, as well as the necessity of religious education. A Sunday school committee and committee on Christian life, including membership, were formed.[42]

Financing perplexed parish assessors throughout the entire nineteenth century. After a brief experiment with voluntary contributions between 1787 and 1792, made necessary by the questionable legal status of Second Society, Worcester, the Society first assessed pew owners for current expenses, and then, in 1797, adopted the customary means of assessing polls and estates of members. This method continued after church and state were separated. Those who did not wish to be assessed had to withdraw from the society, for the law still permitted societies to tax those who voluntarily chose to remain members. Apparently this led to some problems, for in 1846 former Governor Levi Lincoln was appointed chairman of a parish committee to investigate the practice. The committee recommended that the traditional practice be continued.

> Upon the subject of taxes, the Committee have no other Instructions to recommend to the Assessors, than that they be levied upon the Polls and Estates of the Members of the Parish, in precise conformity to the requirements of law. A practice, it is understood, has recently been indulged in by the Assessors, of making irregular assessments upon persons (with their consent) who are not legally

> members of the Parish, of such sums, as they would be liable to pay, upon portions of property in their possession, for which they are willing to be taxed, and authorizing the Treasurer to receive the voluntary payment of such assessments--A still more extraordinary course has, also, of late, been pursued, of permitting persons who either have not joined the Parish, or have separated themselves from it, but continue with their families to attend Public Worship, to pay some small sum, less in amount, at their own pleasure, than would be a Just contribution upon their property, to the support of the ministry--and thus to escape their proportion of a tax--and avoid the odium of sharing in the highest of public keepings, at the charge of others--These practices, in the Judgment of the Committee, are not only without warrant of law, but of most pernicious tendency to the interest and prosperity of the Society. The Upholding of the institution of Public Worship, in a christian Country, is a social and moral duty, as well as a high religious obligation--and he who would avoid it, in the measure of his ability, and according to his fair proportion, in the community in which he lives--must have but a low estimate of the influence of good instruction.[43]

Yet, time proved that proportionate taxation was not possible. The wealthy would not contribute in proportion to their wealth, and left the Society rather than pay. Lincoln was the chairman of a committee which took the matter under consideration again in 1866. He reported:

> The whole expenses of the Parish are now met by a direct tax upon the polls and estates of the members. The continuance of this liability is entirely voluntary, on their part. Within a few years past, the amount of property lost to taxation, by the death or withdrawal of members, has largely exceeded the gains by accessions...the Parish should change the manner of money raising to assessment on pews.[44]

The recommendation was adopted in 1867.[45]

For probably more than a century Massachusetts meeting houses had been built with money raised by selling pews to the congregation. Pews in advantageous positions were status symbols, often owned by those who were parish but not church members. Each pew was given a different valuation by the assessors. After the church was built the pews were auctioned off in competitive bidding. Under Massachusetts law the pew was personal property, and the owner was given a deed. In those societies where pews were privately owned, as proportionate taxation on polls and estates proved impossible, parishioners were assessed a tax proportionate to the price they had paid for their pew. The de facto, and often legal membership of the society consisted of pew owners. Those who attended but did not own pews were not really members of the society, and had no voice in its operation. Visitors and the poor either rented a pew temporarily, or else sat in one of the "free" pews reserved for the lower classes. Needless to say, this economic segregation effectively prevented participation by those unable to buy a pew or rent one.

Taxes on polls and estates proved impossible to enforce. Thus, Unity Church, Worcester, an early suburban outgrowth of Second Society, founded in 1846, considered problems of financial maintenance in 1857. The Prudential committee reported to the membership that "a resort to a compulsory tax would eventually drive away some of our already too small number." Despite this recommendation, taxation was tried in 1862 and failed. In 1866, the parish returned to the method of renting pews for current expenses, rather than selling them and assessing them according to valuation.[46] This method was apparently successful for the minister reported in 1868 that "we are free from debt, our pews nearly all taken, our evening congregation, with free seats, completely filling the house."[47]

Others parishes wavered between retaining taxation of polls and estates, assessing pew valuations, or depending entirely on voluntary contributions and making all pews free. Few Unitarians believed that the latter practice would be effective, though some young ministers started new churches based on the "free church" principle.[48] First Parish, Waltham, briefly tried to raise its funds by voluntary subscription in 1838, but when First and Second Societies merged, the act of incorporation specified that funds would be raised by pew assessments. Those who rented pews would pay six percent on $75 plus a tax on the assessed valuation.[49] Fitchburg apparently turned from taxation on polls and estates, to pew assessments, and then to pew rentals for current income.[50] The Unitarian Society in Springfield was empowered by its act of incorporation to tax the polls and estates of its members, but in 1847 it adopted a system of voluntary subscription as well as pew ownership.[51]

Fall River was a special case. Since it was founded as a voluntary association, it was from the beginning dependent on voluntary support, rather than taxes. The form its founders chose was that of the ordinary business corporation. The agreement of the founders stated that "stock of said corporation shall be divided into not less than one hundred shares nor more than 250 shares provided the amount of all such assessments shall never exceed sixty dollars on each share" When the new church was completed shares were exchanged for pews. When the society was reorganized in 1839, membership was contingent upon paying a $1.00 fee. Thereafter members were asked to support the society by voluntary contribution.[52]

In this chapter I have reviewed events leading to the separation of church and state in Massachusetts, and traced the effect of separation on several parishes.[53] Unitarianism, it appears, grew up under rather special conditions of social system organization and structure. These conditions were vitally affected by separation. While Unitarianism had great appeal as a movement in the establishment, once separation came, these conditions no longer existed, and the movement became a struggling denomination advocating a distinctive theological point of view and a rational Christianity which had only limited appeal. Perhaps the brilliant wife of the Rev. Samuel Ripley of Waltham, Sarah Alden Bradford Ripley, summed up the challenge best, at least in the view of the younger generation, in a letter written in 1843.

> It reminded me of what the Unitarians all were in my young days. They had come out from the dry bones of cant and formalism, with a message to the understanding. The goodness of God and man's comfortable position in this bright and convenient world were their constant theme. They sat secure under their own fig-tree, with a competence for life, free from the petty jealousies which competition engenders in other professions; and their social affections in general, and especially toward their own fraternity, blossomed out in great luxuriance. But times are changed. The priest can no longer stand in the portico, calling out to those who are passing by, blinded by superstition or hoodwinked by authority. The understanding has had its day; the soul is hungering for food, and he that ministers at the altar must enter into the holy of holies himself, and bring it forth from thence.[54]

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER VII

[1] Elias Smith, "a Baptist leader," quoted in William A. Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy in New England* (New Haven, 1916), p. 139. Other important secondary sources for this chapter not previously noted include Jacob C. Meyer, *Church and State in Massachusetts From 1740 to 1833* (Cleveland, 1930); Leonard W. Levy, *The Law of the Commonwealth and Chief Justice Shaw* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957); Arthur B. Darling, *Political Changes in Massachusetts, 1824-1848: A Study of Liberal Movements in Politics* (New Haven, 1925); Anson Ely Morse, *The Federalist Party in Massachusetts to the Year 1800* (Princeton, 1909); Leonard W. Levy, "Chief Justice Shaw and the Church Property Controversy in Massachusetts," *Boston University Law Review*, XXX (April, 1950), p. 219 ff.; Albert B. Hart, ed., *Nineteenth Century Massachusetts, 1820-1889*, Vol. IV, *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* (New York, 1930). Also useful is Edmund H. Bennett, *Massachusetts Digest: A Digest of the Reported Decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts from 1804 to 1879* (Boston, 1881).

[2] Hovey, 261-262.

[3] Written in 1808. Quoted by Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, 138

[4] Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, 148.

[5] *Cumberland*, *Thomas* *Barnes* v. *The Inhabitants of the First Parish of Falmouth* - 1810.

[6] See "Mass. Senate Document 90 - 1836, A list of the Religious and Charitable Institutions incorporated in this Commonwealth since the adoption of the Constitution, with the amount of capital."

[7] Chapter 6, Statutes of 1811.

[8] Levy, *Shaw*, 36.

[9] George E. Ellis, *A Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy* (Boston, 1857), p. 416.

[10] Journal of Debates and Proceedings in the Convention of Delegates, chosen to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts (Boston, 1853), pp. 613-614. See Appendix I to compare with Article III.

[11] Journal of Debates, 368-371.

[12] The vote was 11,065 in favor to 19,547 against. See Journal of Debates, 633-634.

[13] Journal of Debates, 631

[14] Journal of Debates, 559-560. The Worcester delegates were Abraham Lincoln, esq., the Hon. Levi Lincoln, and Edward D. Bangs, esq.

[15] Chapter 106, Statutes of 1823. Levy, in Shaw, badly misinterprets the law of 1823 and circumstances surrounding its passage. There were many reasons for Harrison G. Otis's defeat, including his involvement in the Hartford Convention and his attitude towards the Tariff, in addition to his upper class attitudes. Furthermore, the law of 1823 says nothing about poll parishes. The first poll parish, one of those in this study, was formed forty years before.

[16] Journal of Debates, 667-668. According to Hart, 13, this amendment received "the largest relative majority for any constitutional amendment ever ratified in Massachusetts...32,234 to 3,372."

[17] See Levy, BULR, 219.

[18] A. Hastings Ross, "Church and State in New England: Effects Upon American Congregationalism," The Bibliotheca Sacra CXCIV (1893), pp. 227, 239.

[19] G. L. Walker, Some Aspects of Religious Life, 156-157. Mead has also dealt with the change. From a participant's point of view The Autobiography of Lyman Beecher, Barbara M. Cross, ed. (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass., 1961), is invaluable.

[20] Peabody, Familiar Address, 4-5.

[21] The Reports of the American Unitarian Association, presented at the Seventh Anniversary, May 29, 1832 (Boston, 1832), pp. 350-353.

[22] Peter Osgood, *Sermon delivered at Sterling on the annual fast, April 3, 1834* (Worcester, 1834). Calvin Lincoln shared a similar view. See *A Sermon preached on the Morning of the Annual Fast, April 3, 1834, before The First Congregational Society in Fitchburg, Mass.* (n.p., n.d.).

[23] *Fifth Annual Report Made to the American Unitarian Association, May 25, 1830* (Boston, 1830), p. 26.

[24] *Christian Register*, January 4, 1834.

[25] "Unitarian Churches," *Christian Register*, January 2, 9, 16, 1836

[26] *The Thirteenth Report of the American Unitarian Association, with the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, May 29, 1838* (Boston, 1838), p. 13.

[27] *The Seventeenth Report of the American Unitarian Association... May 24, 1842* (Boston, 1842), p. 13.

[28] *The Eighteenth Report of the American Unitarian Association... May 24, 1843* (Boston, 1843), p. 10.

[29] *The Sixteenth Report of the American Unitarian Association... May 25, 1841* (Boston, 1841), p. 24.

[30] SPP, Files 1830-1845. The same thing happened in many orthodox parishes. First Parish, Springfield records show the same process of "signing off."

[31] *Christian Register*, January 2, 1836.

[32] September 19, 1840.

[33] No one has adequately documented the impact of the revivals from the Unitarian point of view. I would guess that they were much more effective than Unitarians admitted. It was their effect which perhaps caused Unitarians and Arminians to fear them from 1742 to the present day. Today, such traditional opposition needs reconsideration.

[34] December, 19, 1840.

[35] January 14, 1843. The debate continued through the following issues. See those also of August 1, 1835, and January 9, 1847.

[36] February 12, 1853.

[37] See "Second Parish Records, Vol. 2, April 1822-May 1846."

[38] From a letter to the parish thanking them for a retirement gift. SPP, File 1869.

[39] Letter to his mother, February 20, 1849, and another to Samuel Johnson, June 30, 1850.

[40] "Parish Records, First Parish, Waltham, 1821-1840."

[41] Sanderson and Castner, 26.

[42] "Report of a Committee on Parish Membership - April 6, 1843," and "Report of Committee on Parish Organization, November 26, 1867" at the Fitchburg Historical Society.

[43] "Draft of a Report to Second Parish on repairing the Meeting House and Assessing Taxes, May 13, 1846," SPP, File 1846.

[44] Report of the Committee of the Second Parish in Worcester, on the Subject of its Expenditures, and the best mode of raising money for its support (Worcester, 1866), pp. 7, 8.

[45] "Second Parish Records, Vol. 3, March 1847 - Jan. 1889."

[46] SPP, Unity Box, File 1857-1859.

[47] Rush R. Shippen, A Sermon: preached after a Ten Year's Ministry in the Church of the Unity, Worcester, Mass. (Worcester, 1869), p. 13.

[48] James Freeman Clarke's experiment at the Church of the Disciples in Boston is best known. Thomas Wentworth Higginson's ministry in Worcester was to a "free" church. Free referred not to doctrine but to pews. See Hutchison, Chapter V, esp. p. 146 ff.

[49] "Parish Records, First Parish Waltham, 1821-1840," and "Parish Records, Independent Congregational Society of Waltham, 1838-1902."

[50] See list of pew rentals marked "A. Carleton, Mechanic St., 1874," Fitchburg Historical Society.

[51] See Mass General Statutes, 1819, Chapter 82, and Humphreys, 20.

[52] See the Act of Incorporation, March 9, 1832. Also Edward S. Adams, "History of the Unitarian Church, Fall River, Mass, 1832-1932," typed, Historical Library, Unitarian Universalist Association.

[53] While I have traced the effect on membership and on financing, there were also other effects. The rise of the Sunday school was intimately connected with industrialization in both England and America. Most of the parishes in this study developed Sunday schools after 1820. In an increasingly heterogeneous society they were necessary to socialize the child into a particular religious identity. Furthermore, the increasing religious and especially sectarian neutrality of the public school made this necessary. Unfortunately, there is no good history of American religious education either from the point of view of narrative history or from a sociological framework recognizing religious socialization needs. Somewhat useful is Lewis G. Pray, *The History of the Sunday Schools, and of Religious Education, from the Earliest Times* (Boston, 1847), and Francis Tiffany, *Charles Francis Barnard: A Sketch of His Life and Work* (Boston, 1895). There are frequent references to religious education needs and practices in parish records, as well as a multitude of catechisms and other curriculum. See for instance Aaron Bancroft's *New Catechism: Compiled and recommended by the Worcester Association of Ministers* (Third Ed.: Worcester, 1810). If the 2018 questions and answers in J. A. Cummings, *Questions on the Historical Parts of the New Testament for Sunday Exercises in Families and Schools* (Boston, 1820), which was highly recommended, are any sample, then the children must have looked forward to the Sabbath with a very chastened anticipation.

[54] To the Rev. George F. Simmons, November 5, 1843. Quoted in Elizabeth Hoar, ed., *Mrs. Samuel Ripley, A Sketch* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 165.

PART III

ON BECOMING A DEPENDENT VARIABLE

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL REFORM AND SOCIAL WELFARE: A DISTINCTION FOR DISTINCTION'S SAKE

A distinction may be useful for examining the relation between religious institutions, society and social change. If the orientation of the institution is towards basically altering either the values on which the social structure is based, or altering the structure itself, then I shall call such orientation social reform. If, on the other hand, the orientation of the institution is towards materially or spiritually helping those who are suffering, while accepting the system itself, then I shall call such an orientation social welfare. It is obvious that charity, for instance, is social welfare, while a law which would provide maximum working hours or a minimum wage is social reform. It is also important to distinguish between individual and group action. My primary interest is social action within the religious social system.[1]

If the distinction made is valid, then I must report that no specific parish or church included in this study engaged in social reform. No parish or church, as such, sought to condemn any particular social practices, customs or values. No parish or church created a social action committee, or a committee concerned with any specific social issue. In fact there is only very limited evidence that such a possibility occurred to anyone. While ministers or laymen may have occasionally been concerned with social reform, there is little evidence that they sought to involve the parish or church as an organization. As will be detailed in the next chapter, many ministers and laymen felt that social issues were not even appropriate for pulpit consideration. On many issues of social reform congregations appear to have been so deeply divided that either action or discussion on the part of the parish as such would have threatened the system's maintenance, if not survival. Social reform was assumed to be the province of secular organizations founded for specific purposes. The participation, at least of Unitarian parishes or churches, was minimal to non-existent.

Issues sometimes presented themselves to parishes indirectly. In Fall River, for instance, in 1835, Nathaniel B. Borden requested the use of the church for a meeting of the Fall River Anti-Slavery Society. Borden was a founder of the parish, prominent in both business and politics in the city. He was a United States Congressman at the time of his request. During his lifetime he was a member of the Massachusetts House and Senate, the United States Congress, was elected Mayor of Fall River, and in addition at various times served as clerk and treasurer of the Pocasset Manufacturing Company, president of the Fall River Railroad, and president of the Fall River Union Bank and Fall River Savings Bank. He was one of the largest contributors to the parish. Despite the prominence of Mr. Borden, the parish committee refused, because of "the high degree of excitement of the public mind upon the subject of Slavery."[2] In his "Familiar Address", perhaps with some specific incident in mind, William B.

O. Peabody noted that he never "assumed any right to grant the church for public purposes of any kind, though it was generally claimed by clergymen in former years."[3] Apparently some meeting houses were sometimes available. Christopher Columbus Baldwin noted in his Diary: "July 4, 1834. The day was celebrated by the Whig Party in an imposing manner. Franklin Dexter, Esq., son of the late Hon. Samuel Dexter of Boston, delivered the oration in Dr. Bancroft's meeting house."[4] The Worcester congregation later felt that the use of the church for such purposes was not wise, for the annual meeting voted in 1841 "that the Assessors be authorized to grant the use of the House for Secular purposes at their discretion the present year. But it is the sense of the Parish that it shall not be used for such purposes after this year."[5]

As we shall see in the next chapter, Unitarian ministers who performed the role of Prophet had short and difficult pastorates. This was due to the divisions which rent their congregations, as well as the developing role expectation that the clergy were not to meddle in secular affairs. Lay Unitarians, of course, suffered from no such limitations. Nathaniel Borden's home was on the Underground Railway. Charles Allen, member of the Worcester congregation and Chief-Justice of the Superior Court of Suffolk, was an early Abolitionist. As a delegate from Massachusetts to the national convention of the Whigs in 1848, he rejected the moderate choice of the party, rose from his seat, shouted "Massachusetts spurns the bribe!" and walked out of the convention.[6] Many other

Unitarian laymen, however, supported Webster and compromise. Frequently the reformers were either evangelical or unchurched. In Worcester many became members of the Free Church of which a former Unitarian minister, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, became pastor in 1852. It was founded specifically to confront the theological and social reform issues of the day, and its pulpit was to be much like that of Parker's in Boston. "Here are questions to arise--Temperance Laws, Woman's Rights, Land Reform, Ten Hours Bills, the system of Punishments, the Manufacturing system, which fills some of our towns with stout Irishmen who live helplessly on the labor of their children ten years old, working thirteen hours a day--the whole problem of Associated Labor......all these are before us."[7]

If Unitarian churches did not participate in social reform, some did engage in social welfare work. In this area their contribution was notable, and has been frequently chronicled by Unitarian historians. The changes in social systems and population beginning about 1820 posed a threat to traditional New England culture. In this sense social welfare activities may be seen as a conservative attempt to preserve the system, and with education, to socialize native and foreign immigrants into the society. The rise of the city posed a challenge to the institutions of social welfare, socialization and social control. The increasing division of labor required that the educational system be adapted to train men in new skills. Immigrants needed to learn to read and write English, and to get along in their new home. More importantly, at least as many New Englanders saw it, they needed to acquire the values implicit in the Protestant Ethic. Control of large masses of people also posed a problem. Many young, unmarried men and women moved to the cities. These populations needed to be controlled, kept on the narrow path, provided means of self-improvement and recreation. The presence of such populations in factory towns, dependent upon an economy which went through periodic depressions, and where work was not always available, posed a constant problem. The church felt responsible to some extent in all these areas. But the maintenance conditions of parishes both in Boston and throughout the state were such as to exclude large numbers of inhabitants. The practice of taxing real and personal estate for church support, and requiring those who attended public worship either to own or rent pews, effectively excluded both the poor and the stranger from the parish. Since these customs had grown up in a stable society where strangers were few and far between, initially the church had no institutionalized way to deal with large numbers of migrants. Ministers might attempt to do so, but soon learned that it was beyond their time and capacity. Only gradually was it realized that the scope of the problems was beyond the capacity of any one denomination, or group of denominations, and that a new division of labor which involved the secularization of socializing and welfare functions would be necessary. Such roles as social worker, adult educator, truant officer, probation officer, and other similar professions emerged. In many cases ministers pioneered in these roles, their activity growing naturally out of pastoral functions. As role differentiation occurred, the role definition of the minister changed (it did not necessarily narrow).

In order to meet the social welfare problems of the city, Boston Unitarian Congregationalists founded the Ministry-at-Large, and, in 1826 hired as its Director, the Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, formerly of Chelsea. Dr. Tuckerman's duties included seeking out the poor, what Parker later would call "the laboring classes" and "the perishing classes," providing them with religious and moral counsel and advice, as well as occasional material assistance. Tuckerman was supported through the voluntary contributions of several Boston parishes. During the next decade he devoted his full time to the project, expanded its staff, and more importantly, conducted a series of surveys into the condition of the poor in Boston, the results of which were published as part of his reports, and which reached a wide audience. As he gained experience he concerned himself with problems of pauperism, unemployment, family disorganization, alcoholism, immigration, juvenile delinquency, treatment of criminals and delinquents, public education and truancy, and all the multitude of problems which are endemic to large cities. As a result of his work the state legislature investigated conditions of the poor in Massachusetts in 1832. In 1834 the Association of Delegates from the Benevolent Societies of Boston was founded:

> to adopt measures for the most effectual prevention of fraud and deception in the applicants for charity; to obtain accurate and thorough information with regard to the situation, character, and wants of the poor; and generally to interchange

> knowledge, experience, and advice upon all the important subjects connected with the duties and responsibilities of Benevolent Societies.[8]

In the same year the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches was formed to help support the activities of the ministers-at-large. In 1838 Dr. Tuckerman published The Principles and Results of the Ministry at Large, in Boston, which was a mature statement of the methods and the assumptions which informed his work. He emphasized the importance of cooperation among charitable agencies, the need to investigate cases prior to relief, and the necessity of respecting the poor as people. Most important, "Self help was to be a primary consideration at all times." If effect he sought to discourage begging, and to rationalize the whole procedure of social welfare. He was perhaps the first American social worker. By the middle of the century there were other ministries-at-large in Lowell, Charlestown, Salem, Worcester, Roxbury, and New Bedford (see chart, "Ministers at Large in New England, in 1852", following page). Generally, the ministry-at-large, while supported by Unitarian parishes, operated as a separate organization, and tended to segregate the poor in their own schools and chapels, though Tuckerman and his followers discouraged this tendency.[9]

South Congregational Society (Unitarian) in Lowell was founded September 26, 1829. Among its founders were the Hon. Luther Lawrence and Samuel Batchelder, long prominent in the textile industry, and Dr. Samuel L. Dana, said to have been the first industrial chemist in the United States. A building costing $25,000 was completed by the end of 1832. A church school was

Ministers at Large in New England, in 1852.

Location	When Established	Present Ministers	Commencement of their labors	Chapels
BOSTON,	Dec.2,1826			Friend Street Chapel, 1828
"		Charles F. Barnard	April, 1832	Warren Street Chapel, 1836
"		Andrew Bigelow	April, 1845	None
"		S. B. Cruft	Jan., 1846	Suffolk Street Chapel 1840
"		S. H. Winkley	Sept., 1846	Pitts Street Chapel, 1836
PROVIDENCE	1842	E. M. Stone	May, 1847	A Chapel
LOWELL	Sept. 1844	H. Wood	Oct. 1844	Free Chapel, occupied 1844
CHARLESTOWN	Oct. 1846	O. C. Everett	Oct. 1850	Edgeworth Chapel, 1849
SALEM	March, 1847	John Ball	March 1847	None
PORTLAND	April, 1849	W. H. Hadley	April 1849	Preble Chapel, 1851
WORCHESTER	April 15,1849	Francis Le Baron	June 1850	None
ROXBURY	Sept 1, 1849	James Ritchie	Sept. 1849	None
PORTSMOUTH	Nov. 28,1851	Amos Abbot	Nov. 1851	None
NEW BEDFORD	May, 1852	M. G. Thomas	May 1852	Pastor of an organized society.

The salaries of the Ministers at Large are from $800 to $1200. The salary of the Minister at Large in Salem, $1000, is paid by a benevolent lady and her brother. Her husband and brother also subscribe $100 each, to the charity funds. The expenditures for charity vary in different towns from $100 to $1600. In Portland, Madame Preble gave the ground for the Chapel, valued at more than two thousand dollars. Miss Martha C. Hall consecrated her whole estate to a work of religion and benevolence. The fund is $6000, and the income is applied to the uses of the Ministry. In Lowell, the Manufacturing Corporations pay about $600 annually toward the support of the Ministry. The action of the Ministry is much the same in all places; seeking out the neglected poor and erring, ministering temporally and spiritually to their necessities, reaching after the highest views and principles of charity; gathering into the houses of God, or assembling in the private room, for instruction and devotion; furnishing clothing and employment; distributing papers, bibles and tracts; gathering into day schools; establishing libraries, sewing schools, evening schools, bible classes, and Sunday Schools, with reference especially to the young, to save them from impending ruin. There are no denominational objects whatever. It is a pure work of broad charity, -ever seeking to widen and deepen itself.

Table 28

from (Horatio Wood), The Eighth Annual Report of the Minister at Large in Lowell, to the Lowell Missionary Society (Lowell, 1852).

started in 1830, and about the same time a Ladies Charitable Society. By 1835 the society included about 130 families. In 1838 the Christian Register reported that the auxiliary of the American Unitarian Association in the Lowell society was the largest in the denomination.[10] In Chapter V, I noted the extensive involvement of Unitarian parish members in Lowell politics, as well as their upper middle class character.

According to J. L. Seward, the Lowell Ministry-at-Large grew out of the activities of the Ladies Charitable Society. The problems which they confronted suggested the necessity of a home mission. In 1843 the Lowell Missionary Society was founded. The Unitarian minister, Henry A. Miles was elected president. The board consisted of John Clark, David Dana, J. G. Carney, Hazen Elliott, Hapgood Wright, A. W. Butrick, and Franklin Forbes, secretary-treasurer. In 1844 the Rev. Crawford Nightingale was called as minister, but stayed only a month. The Rev. Horatio Wood became minister at large October 28, 1844 and continued in that capacity for twenty-four years. He was a gruff, realistic and active minister. He was active in founding the Association of Ministers at Large in New England and served as its secretary. His annual reports to the Lowell Missionary Society provide an index, both to the conditions of the poor, and to the attitudes and practices of Unitarian home missionaries, and their boards. It should be emphasized that home missions were not especially sectarian in their emphasis. Thus Wood could claim in 1852 that he did not know "that during the eight years past, I have made a single convert to the doctrine of a party."[11]

The structure of the Ministry-at-Large determined its activity. Its operation was governed by a board of prominent Unitarians, who hired the minister and raised the requisite funds. Sources of funds varied. Usually the Ladies Society of the parish contributed, the parish itself might give an offering to the Missionary Society, and individuals often gave. In Lowell, in 1846 the corporations agreed to match the contributions of citizens. At different periods the minister also received part of his salary by serving as chaplain at the jail. There were no poor people represented on the board and the minister was completely dependent on the good will and interests of his board members. Since he was supported primarily by Unitarians, he frequently had difficulty with other denominations because of guilt by sectarian association.

The duties of Ministers-at-Large were primarily spiritual. They were to go out into the community and call upon the poor, advising them, and providing opportunity for religious instruction for both adults and children. In both Lowell and Worcester the ministers soon found that spiritual counsel alone was not adequate. They also found themselves confronting a myriad of personal and social problems for which more than strictly spiritual remedies were needed. Yet their activities all fitted within the concepts of either social welfare or socialization, and in this sense were conventionally accepted religious functions. Horatio Wood soon was operating a free chapel and Sunday school in what had formerly been the school house owned by the Hamilton and Appleton manufacturing companies. In effect this meant that religion was economically segregated. Those who could afford to own or rent a pew went to one of the regular churches. The "poor" attended the free chapel and their children attended its Sunday school. Many other services were developed. Wood initiated the third night school in New England, following the precedent of Charles F. Barnard, minister at large in Boston. The school depended on volunteer teachers, and soon became the largest school of its kind in New England. In 1848, 180 operatives from twelve mills were registered, following a curriculum consisting of the 3R's. By 1855 over 1,000 students were registered, and there was a staff of 53 volunteer teachers. Wood tried to turn it over to the city, but after an unsuccessful experiment in municipal operation, took its operation back again. He reported in 1868 that he had been there every night for twenty-four years. Besides the night school, an infant school for the children of working mothers was started. Sewing classes were run for women. He was also active in the founding of a 5¢ Savings Bank, and sought, in many cases vainly, to persuade the city to modernize its welfare services, and to concern itself more with the problems of juvenile offenders and truancy.[12] In 1863 the Ministry-at-Large purchased a new chapel, and was formally organized on a non-sectarian charitable and educational basis with a self-perpetuating board.[13]

The role of the Minister-at-Large was difficult. On the one hand he had to deal at first hand with the poor as individuals, and face the serious social problems of the city, on the other hand he was completely dependent on a board which was middle class in outlook, and often represented the interests of the corporations. Wood's reports illustrated his attempt to satisfy these often conflicting expectations of the two groups with which he worked. His attitude towards the poor, especially the Irish migrant, often seemed coldly realistic, if not hard-hearted. The late 1840's saw masses of Irish immigrants coming to Lowell seeking work. Wood did not wish to encourage them to remain by giving them relief. "When there are already some two or three hundred more Irish laborers in Lowell than can possibly be employed, what humanity can there be in extending aid to induce them to remain?" "While our policy is to turn Westward the great current, at the same time a few may be directed to country towns in New England, for there are many that are short of hands to do the work, deserted by the rush to cities." During the recession in 1852 he wrote that "We began to see the benefit to the city of trying times, in the removal from us of a superabundant population." The previous year he had prepared his charges for hard times by, among other things, getting as many as possible to leave the city.[14]

Much of his social doctrine explicitly implied the survival of the fittest, and the necessity of trials of suffering in life. "The chief cause of poverty in our country is personal iniquity, but at the same time, poverty leads to sin." "Those families helped the least make the most of themselves in the end." "Necessity is a hard mother, but she trains up smart, vigorous children, and we do not want to take them from her, and make them feeble and puny for this world and the next." In this sense he believed in an individualistic rather than social cause of social problems and tended to confirm the attitudes of the middle class regarding poverty and poor living conditions.

Yet it would be a mistake to say that Wood saw problems only in the light of sin, trial and self-discipline. At the same time that he often blamed the poor for their plight, and tried to send the immigrant to another city, he constantly indirectly criticized the city and the corporations for many of the evils. Lack of observance of the sabbath, for instance, which was apparently widespread, he attributed to the demand of the corporations that some labor on the canals and in the mills on Sunday. Constantly he recommended that the city modernize and rationalize its relief procedures. Why, he asked, had not the city passed laws which would have prevented overcrowding and the construction of inferior tenements? In twenty-four years he made about 30,000 visits to the homes of the poor, and could not help but see that in many cases they were victims of forces beyond their control. His opposition to simple charity and professional pauperism was based on his faith in self-help as realistically the best solution. "A higher charity, than to feed or provide the poor with our comforts, is to seek to teach them how to feed themselves and provide themselves with comforts." Employment and temperance, both acting on each other, in union with education, universal and thorough, and religion, simple and practical, are, under a free and wise government, the great levers by which society is to be uplifted." As he gained experience his recommendations became more specific--

rates for needlework were too little; a law was needed to compel husbands to support their families; a public bath was needed; tippling houses needed to be closed and public recreation provided; the city needed to hire a truant officer; paupers and criminals should be housed in separate buildings. By 1855, despite his own emphasis on the importance of individual virtue and effort, he could not help chiding those who in their own interest would have society depend on individual discipline alone.

> I cannot but take notice of what seems to me to be a very pernicious doctrine, which has been lately set forth in high quarters with much plausibility and power of language, that the whole stress of saving endeavor in society should be placed on principle and spiritual measures within, letting law alone. This indicates a very narrow and speculative view of human nature and human progress....It is a letting of many fall, a playing into the hands of the devils of society....The law has often done what otherwise could not have been done.[15]

The constant tendency of these ministers was to turn from social welfare to social reform, and this made them unacceptable to their boards. They were not given a status equal to that of a regular parish minister, and as they increasingly realized the scope of problems beyond mere religiosity, they found themselves in very difficult positions.

The fortunes of the Ministry-at-Large in Worcester were similar to those of Lowell, though the Worcester experiment did not last long. It was formed in 1849 by a committee consisting of representatives of both the Second Society and Unity Church. Both Alonzo Hill and Edward Everett Hale served on the board, with other business and professional men. The Hon. Stephen Salisbury was chairman. Salisbury was probably the most wealthy member of Second Society, active in commercial and financial circles. The Rev. Warren Burton was called as the first minister. He had previously served as a minister-at-large in Boston. Three-eights of his salary was to come from serving as chaplain at the county prison.

Burton served only a year, apparently because his prison chaplaincy salary was cut off. His first annual report was relatively optimistic, for he did not think that Worcester's problems were serious compared with those of other cities. "I am glad to say that there is but very little poverty in this city, compared with other places of the same, or even less size." "The Catholics af Worcester are, as a class, better off than those of our larger cities." "The poor, in a small city like this, are averse to be singled out, and called the Poor, so as to attract especial observation. Most of the class, moreover, who had proper apparel, attended some one of the churches already established." Still, Burton's year had been active. In addition to starting a prison Sunday school, and providing preaching and counseling for between three and four hundred prisoners, he had contacted about 200 of the poorer families of the town. He had initiated Sunday evening services at the City Hall, and given lectures there on domestic education and parental responsibility. Much of his concern was with the thirty places in Worcester where intoxicants were sold. Families needing funds he referred to the Relief Society.[16]

Warren Burton was succeeded by Francies LeBaron, a young divinity school graduate, and friend of Samuel Longfellow, Samuel Johnson and John Weiss. His hand-written monthly reports to the committee which employed him provide an interesting record of the maturation of a young idealist, confronted with unpleasant social realities.

His letter of acceptance provides us with an excellent index of his initial personal role expectations.

> My duty will be to carry abroad and pour into every heart the true Christian spirit; to make them neither of Paul or Apollos but rather of Christ in every thought and deed; and to pass from man to man, from class to class not bearing the sword of discord but rather as the central point of union and peace. And this leads me to speak of the uses of this ministry as I regard them. It is not for the benefit of the Poor alone, but for the improvement of those as well, to whom God has entrusted the good things of this world that they may disseminate them to their brethren. It is to show not the vast gulf yawning between the two classes of society but rather the level platform on which both stand beneath the all-seeing eye of the Father......and that while the more prosperous dispense their charities, they are blessed a thousand fold if they learn the noblest lessons of self-sacrifice from those with whom they come into communion.[17]

Somehow the picture of the rich learning lessons of self-sacrifice from the poor strikes strangely on the modern realist's ear!

Within a month of starting his job LeBaron had decided he could not work with other missionaries in the city.

> I have no sympathy with men, whose only aim is proselytizing, and whose main dependence, even in that, is terror, and mere passionate excite-

> ment. I believe such things unchristian! I cannot labor with such men![18]

At the end of his first year the young minister was learning the nature of the problems he faced, and perhaps, too, the difference in orientation between himself and his committee. In the annual report the trustees called attention to the fact

> which is an index that expenses of this class will bear the test of figures, when they make the inferior claim that they are the truest economy. It is only a few years since the two Ministries at Large, now supported here, and kindred charities were established. The gratifying fact of which they speak, is this; that during those years, while every other public expense has largely increased with the growth of the city, its expenses for the support of its poor have been kept entirely in check, and even, at last, diminished. The taxes expended by the Overseers of the Poor the last year are less than in any year for four years. All who have endeavored to prevent poverty by the highest influences may congratulate themselves on a result like this.

Would the Rev. Mr. LeBaron have still talked of the wealthy learning from the example of the self-sacrifice of the poor?

He still emphasized the importance of his bridging the gap between rich and poor. Certainly he had begun to bridge the gap between the poor and himself for that year he had made 1541 calls. "Without personal inquiry, few know the deep heart-suffering, the pain, the struggles, the misery, and sometimes, alas, the despair, constantly at work around them."[19] His monthly reports, though, show much more keenly his experiences that first year. He soon found that the poor needed more than religion. Many he found without work, who wanted work when none was available, and he tried to persuade his committee to set up a standard procedure to help find jobs.

> I am still troubled by my inability to provide work for the many, who ask for it, and cannot but think that something effectual might be done in this matter. To take an individual as the example of a class, a poor woman, whom I have known for nearly a year, was driven by poverty to take a room in Pine Meadow, then from want of work, to open a little shop, and of course to sell spirit, and now she is in jail to repent of what, I verily believe she never would have been guilty of, had honest employment been open to her.[20]

More than once he scolded the committee for not taking more interest in its work. "If all the gentlemen of the Committee would, individually, regard the Minister at Large rather as an assistant than a delegate.....The mere assembling in Committee meeting once a month does, it seems to me, very little good to the poor, the weak, the suffering."[21] The winter of 1851, when hardships were increased by recession, brought many sufferers to LeBaron. In April he wrote, "I thank God for the relief he gives to the poor, in the blessed Spring, it is indeed a season of rejoicing. His charities are always worthy of Him."[22] One would conclude that the young minister did not think other charities were always so worthy.

LeBaron persuaded his committee to open a reading room which also served him as an office. There young men came to read and to talk to him. By the next winter the suffering had increased.

> The cold weather has brought throngs of sufferers

> to me, asking help. They have seen me and heard me in their houses, and now they look to me for something besides words. While I sat in my study this morning nine people came for assistance. Can I send them away with only advice? The Gospel does not set well on an empty stomach; and alas! my five loaves and two small fishes are utterly insufficient in these faithless days.
>
> I have acquired some influence over those who must need to be influenced, but I must again remind the Committee, however unwillingly, that this influence will flit away and be lost unless they will assist me to retain it, unless they will help me to make words effectual for good and kind deeds. Like the faithless Thomas, who must needs feel the arisen Christ, the Poor oftimes must taste and feel the higher truths we would teach them, their Spiritual resurrection must come with a body, and in their shrewd minds our faith will always be measured by our works. In the arrangement of the charities for the winter, so soon to be made, I would entreat that the influence of this Committee may be given to some other and better plan than that of former years.[23]

LeBaron frequently gave his own money to those who came to him for help, since the committee provided him with limited funds, and otherwise he was entirely dependent on individual donations.

In part his work involved exposing some myths in his own mind and the minds of his committee members. Thus on first assuming his position he thought that Catholic priests were influencing Irish children not to attend school. Upon investigation, however, he discovered that there was no such influence, but rather that the children had no decent clothes to wear. "All would gladly send their children to the schools if they were provided with warm, decent clothing." By 1851 he reported twenty children in school through his influence.[24] Even so, like Horatio Wood, he retained much of the philosophy that poverty was a school of training.

> Poverty is certainly no disgrace, no curse, sent by God on some of his children, but a class of circumstance, which He finds best for their spiritual training. When God placed so many on this dangerous road to Heaven, He hedged around all its pit-falls with another class, the PROSPEROUS class of his children; and shall they shrink from their station, and turn from their duty? We must carry our refinement into their coarseness; our strength into their weakness; we must teach them, and elevate them, by CONTACT with them; and not put them out of sight and out of mind except as a mere question of economy.[25]

Three years was all LeBaron could stand. The part of his salary which came from a chaplaincy was discontinued. A member of his committee resigned and told him he had accomplished nothing. Apparently some members of his committee pressed him to start a separate chapel for the poor. This he steadfastly refused to do. "These institutions are, to my mind, most thoroughly unchristian, widening the gulf between different classes of society, dividing God's children...in their Father's house. It is a shame and a disgrace to any church when it can be truly said of it, 'The poor may not enter there.'" While LeBaron would not have opposed the founding of a free church, he thought there was plenty of room in the churches already existing. In his anger LeBaron showed the extent to which he had come to identify with the poor, rather than with his committee. "The heathenish darkness of Mechanic St. has been mentioned in this Committee. The matters turn to church-going of the dwellers there;--for my own part I think it will well compare in a religious point of view with Chestnut St. or with Elm."[26] The latter streets, where the members of his committee lived, were the new suburbs of the day. LeBaron resigned and the ministry was not continued.

The experience of both Lowell and Worcester demonstrates the problem of social welfare based on paternalism and what is essentially a class bias. The ministers at large were expected to retain middle class values and represent middle class interests while working with the poor and disadvantaged, and confronting practical problems which were basically social rather than individual in nature. Their theological presuppositions had not prepared them for the realities of their work. If they were going to retain their integrity, they found themselves increasingly opposed to the committees which supervised them, and to the structure of the religious system of which they were a part. They discovered that poverty and economic segregation were the fault of the system just as much as of the poor. Yet if they attacked the system they lost its support. Paternalistic social welfare could be tolerated, but not social reform.[27]

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER VIII

[1] It may be worthwhile here to indicate that if this distinction is valid, then Parsons's description of the function of religion is inadequate. He writes that "the ultimate balancing of the motivational and moral economy, is the core of the significance of religion in a sociological context" (The Social System, p. 163ff). Again he asserts that the core function of religion is "the regulation of the balance of the motivational commitment of the individual to the values of his society - and through these values to his roles in it as compared with alternative considerations concerning his ultimate 'fate'..." (Structure and Process in Modern Societies [Glencoe, 1960], p. 295). Such a definition of the core function implies that religion is always a dependent variable, i.e., always reactive. Its only function is "pie in the sky by and by" as compensation for inequality of rewards in the temporal social system. In part the missionary and social welfare goals of religion are of this nature. However, it is also possible for religion to be active, as well as reactive. There is an essential difference between social reform and compensation. Religions have often been social reform oriented, and have rejected compensation in favor of change. Apart from specific cases, it seems premature to me to pontificate about the core function of religion.

[2] Earl, Centennial History, 370; Fuller, 2; also Alice Brayton, Life on the Stream (Newport, n.d.), p. 25.

[3] p. 9.

[4] p. 313.

[5] "2nd Parish Records, Vol. 2, April 1822 - May, 1846".

[6] Later though, feeling the law came before personal opinion, as a judge he ordered the return of a fugitive slave. See A Memorial of the Hon. Charles Allen from His Children. (Cambridge, 1870), p. 31.

[7] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Things New and Old: An Installation Sermon (Worcester, 1852). See also A. R. Marble, "When Thomas Wentworth Higginson...Lived and Wrote in Worcester," Worcester Telegram, April 29, 1936. Also Worcester Spy, Jan. 14, Feb. 24, Apr. 9, 1858. Also mentioned in Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester (Worcester, 1877). The history of the "Come-Outers" and the Free Church movement in Massachusetts unfortunately has never been entirely written.

[8] Quoted in Cooke, 255.

[9] For an excellent study of the ministry-at-large see Daniel T. McColgan, Joseph Tuckerman: Pioneer in American Social Work (Washington, D.C., 1940).

[10] April 28, 1838.

[11] Materials on the Lowell Missionary Society and Ministry at Large may be found in Cooke, 250; Semi-Centennial Anniversary, 35ff; Drake, Middlesex County, II, 111-112; and Wood's annual reports available at the Lowell public library.

[12] Horatio Wood, The Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in Lowell to the Lowell Missionary Society, with a Review and an Appendix (Lowell, 1868).

[13] Drake, Middlesex County, II, 112.

[14] The Fourth Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in Lowell... (Lowell, 1848), and The Seventh Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in Lowell... (Lowell, 1851), as well as The Eighth Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in Lowell... (Lowell, 1852).

[15] The Eleventh Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in Lowell... (Lowell, 1855). See also the ninth report.

[16] Warren Burton, Report on the Ministry at Large in the City of Worcester, for One Year, Ending April 14, 1850 (Worcester, n.d.).

[17] Letter of June 2, 1850 to Mr. William Cross. SPP, Unity Box, File 1850-1851.

[18] Report of June 30, 1850. SPP, Unity Box, File 1850-1851.

[19] This and the previous quotation are from Francis LeBaron, Second Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in the City of Worcester. For the Year Ending May 31st, 1851. (Worcester, n.d.).

[20] Report of November, 1850. Unless otherwise indicated all the reports annotated below come from SPP, Unity Box, File 1850-1851.

[21] Report of January, 1851.

[22] Report of April, 1851.

[23] Report of December, 1851.

[24] Reports of December 1850 and October 1851.

[25] Francis LeBaron, Third Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in the City of Worcester. For the Year Ending May 31st, 1852 (Worcester, 1852).

[26] Report of November, 1852.

[27] Lest perspective be lost, and Unitarianism alone be unfairly indicted, it should be stressed that this has been a perpetual problem with Protestant churches of the middle class. May, Abell, Niebuhr, and others have commonly noted it. It is also a complaint of many critics of contemporary Protestantism.

CHAPTER IX

NEW MASKS FOR OLD PREACHERS

In previous chapters I have examined the effect of change in the economic and political systems on the religious social system. I have indicated how these changes effected the structure of the religious system as a whole, especially the manner in which it was forced to change in order to meet requirements of membership, financing, and similar maintenance problems. Now I shall approach the problem from a somewhat different angle, that of role. What effect had these changes on the personal role expectations, and social role requirements of those within the system?[1] First I shall deal briefly with the role of parishioner, then give my primary attention to the role of minister.

As I have already indicated the role of the parishioner within the traditional New England system was minimal. Payment of taxes, attendance at public worship, and participation in the town or parish meeting were the principal duties. The established parishes had almost no committees, clubs or Sunday schools. The social goals were to provide a public teacher of religion to preach, administer the ordinances, teach and shepherd the flock. The goals of the religious system were narrowly defined.

When the establishment ceased and membership in the system became entirely voluntary, role expectations of parishioners changed and broadened. Laymen became more involved in the maintenance functions of the system. Contrary to Talcott Parsons, who theorizes that greater differentiation and therefore specialization of function took place, I would suggest that more nearly the reverse was true. As the system adapted to the newly secularized society it broadened its functional appeal.[2] Religious institutions were no longer religious in the narrow sense of existing almost entirely for services of public worship held one or two days a week. The change in the structure of the system implies a change in its function. To use my own terms, both the goals and consequences changed. The change in personal and social role is an index of goal and consequence changes.

A content analysis of the expectations of congregations, which ministers expressed in ordination sermons before 1811, shows a preponderance of emphasis on financially supporting the minister, accepting the teachings of the minister, and not fighting with one another, all essentially passive activities in the context of establishment.[3] The Rev. Aaron Bancroft, a representative of the expectations of the older generation, emphasized two duties of congregations. The first was to attend public worship. The second was to support their minister "in a diligent examination of the christian system, and to allow him freely to declare the result of his inquiries."[4] Alonzo Hill, reflecting many years later on the traditional role of the layman, wrote: "A half century ago the whole duty of the congregation consisted in a superstitious (respect) for the minister - a faithful attendance, forenoon & afternoon, on his services & an unquestioning faith in his dogmas. This obligation, & their whole duty was done."[5]

The Christian Register during the years following disestablishment reflected the controversy surrounding the changing social role of the layman. "The great lack...is, that the Laity...have no sensible tie to hold them, and no proper methods of manifesting their attachment and interest."[6] At the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association in 1851, the Hon. John G. Rogers criticized exclusive dependence on preaching, and advocated the necessity of involving parishioners in the work of the church.[7] In a previous chapter I have already documented the growth of the committee system and Sunday school as partial solutions to the problem of lay participation.

Yet even more useful as an index of the changes taking place are the expressions of dissatisfaction of the laity with the ministry, and the defensive reaction of the ministry to the new influence of the parishioner. Thus Alonzo Hill, speaking to the people of Marlboro, depreciated those who sign off from the society merely because of the assessment or offended pride. The columns of the Register contained a spirited controversy as to whether the minister was too dependent upon his congregation, or whether conflicts resulted only from the minister going outside his area of expertise.[8] Parishioners and ministers frequently disagreed on the propriety of "political preaching." Henry W. Bellows expressed very explicitly the congregational restrictions on the ministry.

> In congregations, composed of venerable representatives of the liberal professions, judges, and dignitaries, men of great affairs and large experience, it is not to be expected that ministers, whose education, opportunities, age, and character do not raise them above numerous peers in their own parishes, should have that freedom either of thought or of action, much less that power to sway and regulate, which, in differently constituted communities, might belong to them.[9]

As towns in the interior of the state increased in size and wealth those conditions which first applied to Boston spread to them as well. The status of the minister in modern New England was far different from that when he was the only educated person in a small rural town. The status of the parishioner, as well as his participation and influence, increased. Apparently the effect on some ministers was not positive. In 1857 the Register editorialized on the appearance of the clergy during Anniversary Week.

> We never saw a more jaded looking set of human beings. How was it, that in former days, in this same climate, longevity was almost a proverbial attribute of clergymen? There was less sneering and reviling at their expense. They felt sure of the regard of their churches--they felt strong in the hope of a lifelong connexion with them.[10]

In summary then we find that the parishioner's role changed by 1870 from one which was essentially passive and receptive, for the most part limited to Sunday attending and listening, plus yearly tax paying, to an active responsible role. Maintenance activities were substantially carried out by the layman. In addition his authority increased. Such an organizational emphasis made it possible to ignore or deemphasize doctrinal or theological concerns except of a popular nature. While "Christian nurture" was sanctioned, serious theological education was neglected. While sermons in Unitarian churches might be more intellectual than those of other ministers, this was because of the higher educational level of the average parishioner. Such intellectual attainments were no guarantee that there would be any more tension between religion and the world. As Katz remarks in regard to Channing, he "did have 'children,' and each of them discovered that their attempts to meet 'the demands of the age on the ministry' put them at cross-purposes with their congregations..."[11]

The role of minister was at the center of the religious social system. The figure of the Puritan clergyman had frequently dominated the local New England community. Such, for instance, was true of the Rev. Robert Breck of Springfield, "where his dignified carriage, tie-wig, shoe-buckles, silk stockings, and a slave attendant served to fill out the ancient notion of ministerial importance."[12] By the fourth decade of the nineteenth century the ministry was deeply affected by the social changes of the time, and was suffering from uncertainties and troubles. A variety of facts confirm this. Registration at Unitarian theological schools was declining. Many criticized the quality of the men produced by the schools. Ministerial tenure had become uncertain. Salaries were low. Conflicts between clergy and congregations were commonplace. The problem was one of adjusting a role of "public teacher of religion" to the form of voluntary association in a new social environment. The question was "What are the proper role and prerogatives of the minister?"

Formerly the minister had been pastor to the whole town. He was settled there for life. A comparison of the average length of pastorates of eighteenth and nineteenth century graduates of Harvard dramatically emphasizes the contrast. Of the seven members of the Harvard class of 1700 who became ministers only one had more than one pastorate. The average length of pastorate for the seven was 33 years. Of the Harvard class of 1750 the average length of pastorate of the six who became ministers was 30 years. A century later I find in calculating the average length of pastorates of the class of 1851 that it was slightly less than 7 years.[13] According to an editorial in the *Christian Register* the average length by 1850 was 5 years.[14] In 1854, complaining of the instability of pastorates, the Rev. E. B. Hall, Vice President of the American Unitarian Association, wrote that he could personally recall "twenty-four pastors...who have had in all *eighty* parishes, each of them having had three at least, and none of them being yet too infirm to take another."[15] Six years before, the *Register* had criticized the hiring of a minister on the condition that he could be given six months notice of dismissal.[16] The shortness of pastorates was a symptom of the general discontent of people with their pastors, and visa versa. The *Register* complained that theological students while trained to give a "popular and pleasing discourse," knew nothing about theology. On the other hand some thought the intellectual standards of Harvard too high for an average pulpit.[17] When the newly founded Unity Church, Worcester was candidating ministers in 1846, a letter from a member of the pulpit committee to its chairman perhaps indicated lay feeling:

> We should now prefer to hear some of the old ones, and not give the boys a chance to raise any expections, that they may ever be a better man than Hale - personally we pray for the improvement of the stock generally and of ministers in particular.[18]

One of the sources of ministerial dissatisfaction was low salaries. As early as 1840 a series of editorials in the Register indicated congregational reluctance to provide adequate salaries. A decade later salaries were still a problem, not only because they were inadequate, but also because they were sometimes paid by two or three wealthy parishioners on whom the minister became dependent. Ministers were also criticized for possessing too expensive tastes. The crisis, however, appears to have occurred just before the Civil War. Beginning about 1857 complaints by ministers became common in the Register. One of the reasons for brief pastorates was that ministers had begun to seek larger churches which could pay more, something which would have been nearly impossible in colonial New England where ministers could leave a pulpit only with the permission of the congregation and the advice of a counsel.[19]

These are but symptoms of the basic question. What was the purpose of the ministry? What should the minister's role be? Whereas ministers before 1811 had emphasized such things as shepherding, comforting, enforcing public morality and orthodox belief, those after 1833 saw their role somewhat differently. Preaching, personal example, scholarship and religious experience were still important, but the ministers of this younger generation were concerned with problems and values which formerly had been seldom mentioned. After 1833 the prophetic function of the ministry was sometimes emphasized along with renewed concern, not with enforcing private morality, but encouraging individual moral commitment. The minister was concerned with individual morality and with social problems, though the solution to these problems was conceived in individual terms. The minister's role was conceived by the ministers themselves in a much less authoritarian way than did the older generation. Ordination sermons after 1833 frequently emphasize the right and obligation of parishioners to think for themselves.[20]

Questions of role became controversial when specific problems presented themselves. The first concern, of course, was public worship. The newly voluntary nature of the system placed a burden on the minister of attracting members. To do so his sermons had to be interesting and understandable. Since the minister was no longer one of the few educated men in the community, and since he now faced the competition of lyceum lecturers, books and other forms of entertainment, public worship had difficulty in remaining the vital center of attraction of the parish or the community. The traditional plain-style of New England sermons, or the emphasis on systematic theology which had often characterized Puritan preaching was no longer permissible. Complaints began to be heard of ministers preaching too long, of the lack of inspiration in sermons read from manuscript, of the burden of attending two long services on Sunday. Parishioners complained if ministers were poor public speakers, or if they failed to pray feelingly. On the other hand, the traditionalists complained if the minister neglected theology in his effort to be an entertaining public speaker. "As to theology, some seem to have forgotten what their mothers taught them." "If we would attend church with less of the feeling of going to a theater, we should return from it with less of the feeling of coming out of a jail." Congregations sought the popular preacher who would pack the hall, and yet who would not be controversial or authoritarian. In some cases laymen wished to run the parish entirely, leaving the minister only a preaching function conceived in a very narrowly religious fashion.

> The office of preaching has nearly absorbed and driven out all the other duties of the clergy, until there are many so called religious societies, who have no ministry at all, and do not care to have, provided they can secure the entertainment of a well written discourse to while away the tedious hours of the Sunday withal. What is the real significance of the altered relations between the pulpit and the people of the present generation? Is it an archaic profession?[21]

The emphasis on brilliant but non-controversial preaching was condemned by both denominational leaders and the most prestigious ministers of the denomination because obviously not all churches could attract great preachers, and more importantly, because they felt many other dimensions of the profession were more important. Hall wrote in 1853:

> Do you ask us why it is that parishes are so often disappointed in ministers, and keep them so short a time? For these two reasons, among others: first, that in choosing a minister, or proving him, they think more of other qualities than of his piety, or capacity to create piety in them; and then, that they give him little opportunity to show piety or promote it, either at first or afterward.[22]

In voluntary associations the function of the minister fast became attracting a congregation through preaching and friendliness. Tact and social grace, coupled with talent at public speaking became the chief virtures. While Octavius Brooks Frothingham tends to overdraw his father, still his type of ministry would no doubt have appealed to many Unitarians.

> For the dignity, decency, purity, propriety of the clerical profession he had great regard, but as much on account of its social position as on account of its sanctity. It indicated the highest type of gentlemanliness, the finest style of personal character, a kind of exquisite courtliness of manhood, humanity of a finished stamp of elegance; and he resented everything like an admixture of ordinary philanthropy. It was in his view a descent to enter the arena of strife even for the purpose of removing an evil.[23]

The hottest area of controversy was the minister's responsibility to speak on topics of social and political concern. Whereas the Republicans had resented the Federalist sympathies of the clergy in the early years of the century, now the businessmen and manufacturers refused to permit the clergy to criticize the conditions of the workingman, the status of women, or the problem of the slave. Yet there were few ministers who would claim proudly as James Walker did that while he was minister in Charleston he never participated in politics, preached reform or talked on abstruse subjects.[24] Yet the pressure of important laymen on the minister was substantial. Thomas Wentworth Higginson claimed that at the time he left divinity school he saw a list of "the graduating class, with a classification of those who were safe and so to be encouraged, and of those who were dangerous and to be discouraged."[25]

While a layman could declare of the ministry that it was wholly unacquainted with the world with which it wished to meddle and that ministers "have nothing of politics but the passions they incite" the ministers would reply that the actions of real life could not be divorced from religious concern.

> As we have hinted, there is a use of the word "political" which is unauthorized and censurable. When men use the term to cover up their misdeeds, when, as politicians and partisans, at home or in legislatures and Congress, they violate truth, faith, justice, and mercy, and set their own law, enacted perhaps by a small majority, in subservience to leaders, and angry if not intoxicated temper, above the law of God, -- and then declare it is none of the preacher's business, being only "political",--they deserve the reprobation of all good men; and should hear such sentiments and truths in church, if they venture there, as will make them remember that there is a God, and a judgment to come.[26]

These conflicts were essentially conflicts between personal and social role expectations. In part their origin lies in the social role expectations of the public teacher of religion in the establishment who was of high local prestige, and who was expected to take an active part in the community, most often on the side of the *status quo*. Such expectations, however, carried over into a society in the midst of radical change and in which parishes were voluntary associations, dependent upon good will for their budget and membership, were often inappropriate, especially when the minister exercised his authority against those laymen who were upwardly mobile, or whose status was dependent on sources associated with the social problem, such as industry or slavery. Sociologically, prophets have often been associated with rural equalitarian backgrounds. Amos would have been no more at home in Worcester or Boston than he was in Jerusalem, and would have been received in either modern city with the same hostility. The simplicity, especially the supposed moral simplicity of the past, is often an attractive alternative to the present, and in the context of New England during the era of "freedom's ferment" was often the source of the young minister's social commitment. In this sense social reform was frequently conservative while the middle class was revolutionary.

The general tendencies which I have been speaking of in regard to the ministry are reinforced by an examination of the ministerial history of our specific congregations. I shall attempt to provide brief histories for Worcester, Waltham, Springfield, Fitchburg and Fall River. Many of the pastors of these congregations published frequently, and in some cases have been the subjects of biographies, so that a rather extensive record is available.

During the first century of its history, Second Parish, Worcester, had only three ministers: Aaron Bancroft, Alonzo Hill, and Edward Hall. Bancroft was minister for more than half a century from 1785 to 1839. Hill was called as his Associate and became senior minister after his death. His pastorate of more than forty years, 1826-1871, encompassed a period of great growth and change. Hall served from 1869 to 1882. Through a rather detailed description of the activities, concerns and offices of these men the role expectations of the successful minister of a large and prosperous congregation should become apparent.

Aaron Bancroft was one of the most outstanding of the pioneers of Unitarianism in Massachusetts, probably the most active Unitarian controversialist outside of Boston.[27] He established his reputation long before the Unitarian controversy began, and lived to see it subside. While he was an ardent Federalist, and a best-selling author of one of the first biographies of Washington, he apparently limited his public statements to formally religious questions. In 1827, he advised his new colleague that

> The judicious and faithful minister will make the duties of his profession the subject of his daily study and the great labour of his life, and he will not intermeddle with the ordinary concerns of his Parish. The prudent clergyman will cautiously avoid an interference with the contentions of neighbors, and with strifes, that may arise from competitions of business, or collisions of political parties.[28]

Consistent with this position both he and Alonzo Hill voted against the clergy of Worcester County taking a position as a group in opposition to slavery.[29] At the same time he was active in many associations. He was the first President of the American Unitarian Association, and was also President of the Board of Trustees of Leicester Academy, of the Worcester County Bible Society, of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety and Charity, of the Worcester and Middlesex Missionary Society. He was also a founder and active member of the American Antiquarian Society, which grew largely out of his own congregation, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Bancroft's congregation numbered among its members Levi Lincoln, Senior, Jefferson's Attorney General, as well as Levi Lincoln, Jr. and John Davis, both of whom served as Governors of the State. His relationship to these men appears to have been rather close, but his influence was exercised through private and social rather than public means. They were active in his parish, and frequent guests at his home. As early as 1812 Isaiah Thomas was discussing with him the establishment of the American Antiquarian Society, and elsewhere in his Diary records their frequent association.[30] Apparently the good Doctor was somewhat more worldly than most clergymen for Baldwin found it worth recording that "There is perhaps not another minister in the County who would tolerate card playing in his own house."[31] His letters to his son, George Bancroft, indicate that he had a lively personal interest in politics, especially as they effected his friends and parishioners.[32] Twenty years after his death, Stephen Salisbury, probably the most wealthy member of Second Parish, and President of the Worcester Bank, wrote to George Bancroft, asking him to prepare a memoir of his father. "As you know," he wrote, "there is no suitable...memoir of your excellent Father, a man, who did much to form and guide the age in which he lived and that which has succeeded it."[33]

Alonzo Hill became minister of a congregation which was well established. He attended the Divinity School at Harvard at the same time as Emerson, and came to Worcester directly from school. It was to be his only parish. Perhaps it was in part the jealousy of an old man for a younger colleague, but privately Aaron Bancroft had some reservations about the young man. He wrote to his son George, then in Springfield, that Hill had been generally acceptable, and was being asked to preach a little longer to give the congregation opportunity to make up its mind. "My only fear", Bancroft added, "is, that Mr. Hill does not possess sufficient power of intellect to maintain a high standing among Unitarian Ministers. This is between ourselves."[34] Hill, however, proved himself a very competent, if not brilliant professional. He was active in the denomination, the Sunday school movement, and his community. During his pastorate two new churches were built. At the end of forty years he told his congregation that he had delivered 1535 sermons, each written out in full, performed 429 marriages and 800 funerals. Probably his greatest contribution was as chairman of the Worcester school committee, on which he served for twenty-five years. He gave up to two months a year of his time to public education, and during his tenure the number of schools in Worcester increased from four to eighty-one. His only other offices were as recording secretary of the American Antiquarian Society and as an Overseer of Harvard from 1851-1854. At the time of his retirement in 1869 the parish presented him a gift of $12,363, donated for the most part by a relatively small number of the wealthy members of the parish.[35]

Socially and theologically Hill was a conservative. While he modified his views somewhat, his beliefs were similar to those of the first generation of Unitarians. He was not a Transcendentalist, though occasionally his sermons show a trace of Transcendentalist influence. While he had reservations about cultural change, he believed that the social change going on around him was essentially progressive, and tended to see its good rather than its questionable aspects. Most of his published sermons were eulogies of his more prominent and wealthy parishioners, or of fellow ministers.[36] At the time of his death, his successor, the Rev. Edward H. Hall, noted that "In more senses than one that ministry seems to connect the present with the past.....the Christian ministry itself, leaving the primitive basis on which he found it, has entered upon new and still undefined relations with society."[37] Another veteran minister and friend in an obituary in The Religious Magazine noted that "The character of a bold and uncompromising reformer he did not claim or aspire to."[38]

It is evident that both Bancroft and Hill saw their roles as ecclesiastical rather than prophetic. Both were active in organizing and supporting public education and scholarly research. Their own personal role expectations were in accord with the social role expectations of their congregation, and thus they were highly respected. While Bancroft was a theological innovator and controversialist, this was part of the expectation of his parishioners, who had founded a new parish because of their own dissent from Calvinism. Hill was not a theological innovator and was not expected to be. Perhaps his greatest crisis came at the founding of Unity Church, Worcester in 1846. This church was founded at the initiation of relatively well-to-do laymen living in a new neighborhood of the city, who were of a younger generation than Hill. In the new society there was no distinction between church and parish and all were admitted to communion. While Hill did not oppose the founding of this church, it is likely that those founding it did so in part in order to overcome the organizational conservatism of Hill and the older parish. Their attitude toward the ministry is perhaps indicated by the comment that if the chairman of the pulpit committee was unable to get weekly guest preachers for the pulpit of the newly founded church "we shall not suffer very much."[39]

The first minister called by Unity Church was Edward Everett Hale. Hale was from an old Boston Unitarian family, was a progressive theologically and socially, but acceptable as a compromise between classical Unitarianism and the Parkerites. He was a brilliant speaker, had a likeable personality, and was to become one of the minor American literary figures of the late nineteenth century, known best for his short story, "The Man Without a Country." His conception of the ministry was much more informal, non-authoritarian and active than that of the first generation of Unitarian ministers. Theologically he was a liberal optimistic Christian with a basic faith in progress. Organizationally he emphasized the participation of laymen in the church, and the need for denominational strength. With Henry W. Bellows he became the leader of the movement for denominational rejuvenation after the Civil War. While in Worcester he was active in encouraging the ministry-at-large there. One sermon of the period is concerned with provision of public recreation and amusement for the laboring classes, a concern perhaps not characteristic of former generations of New England clergy. Even his language is "modern," and somewhat reminiscent of some contemporary religious best-sellers. "Religion is the management of life; it seeks the enlargement of life; it proposes to enliven life." The ministers job is

> to interpret to them, week by week, thousands of new voices, such as past generations never heard of. Is God among the nations,--Is God among leading on new enginery of invention? And the very novelty of your toil, every new form which the current of the age gives to it, is to give to your eager questioning some revelation of the love of God. In the shriek of the whistle, in the clang of the rails, in the sharp strokes of the piston, in the whizzing of the steam, in the rattle of the wheels beneath you as you ride, or in the light words of those who talk around you, your mind may be diverted, so that you shall not run back at first to see the hand of God who chooses, by such a device as that, to bind nations together, to make his world smaller, and the life of each man so much larger.[40]

Hale's concern with society and politics grew gradually as he became involved in the life of the city. Originally, he apparently considered the ministry a suitable profession for a person with literary ambitions. Gradually, however, in Worcester, the practical problems which people brought to him directed his interest toward their wider social and political causes. He was drawn into the Emigrant Aid Company by Worcester friends, actually wrote a book on Kansas, and handled correspondence for the Company. His involvement was somewhat reluctant because of his literary ambitions, but by the end of the decade of the 50's he was a serious student of social problems. His conception of the ministry broadened through experience, though the expression of this broadened concept waited until he was called to Boston's South Congregational Church in 1856. Since his father and brother were editors and publishers of one of Boston's leading conservative newspapers, deeply involved in the political and social life of the time, the Boston pulpit opened a wide field of influence in Hale's hometown. It should be noted that Hale's involvement in society consistently was as spokesman and leader of what might be called the progressive members of the upper social and economic classes of which he himself was a member. He held a certain status by ascription, and thus was able to influence the possessors of power informally. His approach was much more pragmatic than ideological, and avoided much of the opprobrium which social reformers of lesser status and greater ideological commitment suffered.[41]

Hale's successor in the Unity pulpit, Rush R. Shippen, served for more than a decade, when he became the executive secretary of the American Unitarian Association. He seems to have found the congregation less liberal than he had expected. Possessed of much the same optimism as Hale, as well as concern with society, he involved himself in the life of the community. After a decade as minister he congratulated his congregation on their activity on behalf of "the Orphan's home, the Mission School, in founding and fostering the Public Library...., in the new Industrial College, in the charities toward the soldier during the war and to freedmen since, and in various branches of our City Government." Shippen himself served nine years on the Worcester school board. Still, he was concerned about poor Sunday morning church attendance (when the pew owners attended), while the evening church service, when pews were free, was filled. He criticized the congregation for wishing him too often to be an echo, and for the congregation's reluctance to let him preach for the benefit of strangers and visitors. He gives the impression of a minister who has been successful, but who has been quite self-conscious of walking the razor's edge of expectations, trying to satisfy conservative expectations when his personal role expectations were more radical and activist.[42]

All four of the Worcester ministries I have examined were successful. All four ministers realistically operated with the role expectations of their congregations, probably because they shared these expectations themselves. They avoided conflicts, partly by approaching social and political issues cautiously, seeing their primary role as homiletic and pastoral, rather than prophetic. Doughty Aaron Bancroft was most involved in controversy, but this was theological controversy, within the area of his expertise. He welcomed religious freedom, but did not hesitate to chide his congregation for materialism, for individual sin and selfishness. Nor did he approve of a ministry of mere elegant public speaking. "God forbid that a day of impassioned excitement should occur, which would induce the minister of Jesus...to provide...for the momentary entertainment to be derived from refined sentiments and a polished style."[43] Alonzo Hill survived years of theological controversy and social conflict in the Unitarian ranks, even though his congregation was divided sharply over issues such as abolition. Again this was in large part due to prudence and a conventional definition of his role. Both he and his congregation were theologically conservative. On social issues he followed rather than led, pursuing a middle course in times of conflict. Hale accepted his first pastorate in a new societyin which organizational innovation was welcome. Initially rather disinterested in society and politics, he was gradually involved by his friends or parishioners until he developed a much wider concept of the ministry than he possessed in his youth. Shippen was much like Hale. It will be noted that the pastorates of the younger generation, by traditional standards, were short. There was no notion of lifetime settlement. Furthermore, they saw their primary duty was to the congregation that hired them. "Yet their first duty, beyond doubt, is the duty next to their hands; and you can see how much of energy, time, and life, that a man has left for this external duty, who has shared in the hospitalities, enjoyed the friendships, and received the confidence, of some three hundred homes."[44]

I shall now turn to the Unitarian Society in Springfield. This society was founded in 1820 by Arminian Christians, dissatisfied with the refusal of the orthodox minister to exchange pulpits with liberal Christians. The first minister was a young graduate of Harvard, the Rev. William B. O. Peabody. His pastorate began in 1820 and ended with his death in 1847. The years immediately following his ordination were occupied in building up his new society and participating rather reluctantly in the Unitarian controversy. He consistently spoke against theological controversy, and tended to avoid both theologically and socially controversial preaching. He became a good friend of the Rev. Samuel Osgood, the orthodox minister. One historian considers his greatest contribution to Springfield to be the founding of the cemetery. Twenty years after coming to the society he expressed his opinion very explicitly on Unitarian sectarianism.

> I would only say in reference to the name Unitarian, which is generally applied to our church, that, while it expresses perhaps, in one particular, the prevailing opinion of its members, it does not express the principle of our religious association, which is that of Liberality; requiring only a profession of faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and leaving other points between a man's conscience and his God. I would, for my own part, choose that our Church should bear the name of Liberal....[45]

Peabody's organizational activities were limited almost entirely to his church. He started a Sunday school and Bible classes during his first decade as minister. His preaching tended to be very non-dramatic and emphasized personal character and individual moral problems, as well as a rather diffuse Christianity. Toward the changes in theology and society which occurred during his pastorate he expressed a mild and somewhat distant disapproval. "It is an age of restlessness, an age of change, an age of action; but to call it an age of philosophy--that is, of calm, deliberate inquiry after truth--is doing it an honor which it does not yet deserve."[46] His habitual tendency was to view events sub species eternatatis. He frequently walked in the local cemetery. At its dedication he told his audience: "I am persuaded that nothing has been done in this village since its history began, which will tend so much to improve and refine it, as what you are doing now." "We shall soon leave this ground,--never again thus to assemble, till we meet in the dust below."[47] His social concern, such as it was, was expressed through the Colonization Society during the early 1830's, and in a consistent opposition to war. In 1833, just before the separation of church and state, he delivered the annual election sermon before Governor Lincoln, supporting the separation. This is undoubtedly his best effort. "But now, when churches regard themselves as corporate bodies, with chartered rights, and with interests distinct from those of other men,--now, when to be a member of a church, is not necessarily the same thing with being a conscientious and real Christian,--now, such an union would be death to freedom, and must be firmly resisted by the free."[48]

Peabody avoided both theological and social conflict, for the most part. He was primarily a literary man, and rather withdrawn.

> When I came here I was in the condition of most young divines, entirely unacquainted with my duty and discharged it so poorly that I was very unhappy and since I have learned something in the lapse of years I have been trying to make up for

> lost time and to do something to benefit the existing generation before it should pass away. On that account I keep pretty close at my work and have the satisfaction of seeing that it is not wholly without success.[49]

To the Transcendentalist controversy he could only respond with a mild criticism, sometimes appearing more like bewilderment.

> I have no connexion at all with other towns not even Northampton now for though I should not alienate myself from my neighbor Dwight on account of his Transcendentalism there is something about his habits of thought and all his ways so entirely foreign to mine that I cannot afford the expense of keeping up much communication....my people would lament his preaching often as an infliction which they had not deserved.[50]
>
> You allude to Mr. Emerson's disciples who I take it are mainly of one sex. I hear they claim Francis and Stetson -- but as believers in what faith. I do not see anything peculiar about Emerson except a paltry style meaning is unmeaning whatever his admirers choose to fancy--and as I am well persuaded that such affectations are no match for common sense in the long run I do not trouble myself about them. The whole Unitarian world seems to be in a wrangle--and all that should be for peace seem to be loud for war....[51]

Peabody was well accepted by his congregation, and spoken favorably of by other local ministers. Even the Methodist periodical, while criticizing his uninteresting sermon delivery, described him as "a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian."[52]

Because of a limited salary and a large family he was forced to eke out his living by writing. For the Library of American Biography he wrote four volumes, studies of Alexander Wilson, Cotton Mather, David Brainerd and James Oglethorpe. He was an early advocate of conservation. Probably his most permanent contribution was not related at all to the ministry. In 1839 he published a still useful Report on the Ornithology of Massachusetts. In addition he was a frequent contributor to newspapers and periodicals, including The North American Review. He also published a poetical catechism and a hymnal.

Peabody was followed by the Rev. George F. Simmons. Simmons was a graduate of the famous Harvard Divinity class of 1838. He was ordained as a Unitarian missionary and spent two years in Mobile, Alabama before being forced to flee the city because of the expression of anti-slavery views.[53] He served the Waltham parish for two years, and then traveled to Germany for another two years of study of theology at the University of Berlin. On his return he was called to the Springfield pulpit.

Simmons was far more theologically sophisticated than most Unitarian ministers of his generation. He was also more orthodox. The Rev. Samuel Osgood, the Calvinist minister in Springfield, wrote that "he approached as nearly to my own views of the character and work of Christ as perhaps any minister of his denomination."[54] The Rev. Samuel Ripley of Waltham, his father-in-law, said that twenty years before he would have been considered conservative.[55] His published sermons exhibit an unusual concern with Christian doctrine. Unlike most Unitarian ministers he preached sermons on doctrine which show the influence of his European study.[56]

Simmons's pastorate was cut short, however, by the expression of his political views in an unusual circumstance. In the early 1850's Massachusetts was deeply divided over the issue of slavery, and the willingness of Daniel Webster to compromise with "the slave power." Many of the most influential members of the Unitarian parish were Whigs, opposed to abolition, including the Hon. George Ashmun, then a member of Congress, and a personal friend and supporter of Webster. In 1851, an English abolitionist, George Thompson, came to Springfield to lecture. He was met by a mob, apparently encouraged by some of the more "respectable" elements of the community opposed to abolition. While his presence in Springfield lasted, the village was in an uproar. The next Sunday, Simmons chose as his subject "Public Spirit and Mobs." Since some of the most prominent members of his congregation were at least indirectly involved these sermons took courage.

> And when the people address the ministry, which is their handmaid in virtue, and, dreaming that she is a captive, say to her, "Sing us one of the pleasant songs of Zion," I hope the reply will be "Nay, I will declare the truth of the Lord, which shall be sweeter than songs in the ears of the righteous."[57]

These sermons were not arguments for Abolition. They were carefully addressed to a conservative, propertied audience. If the wealthy were going to stir up mobs, had they thought that the precedent of mob rule was a poor one for those in the upper classes who gained most from law and order.

> Our corporate character is as distinct a thing as the character of an individual. We are now forming and training it, fixing those habits to come, fastening on the town those civic vices and virtues under which our children and successors will thrive or suffer...The time will come when there will not want materials for a mob of the most destructive character.

Simmons argued not only from the unwisdom of the precedent, but from the absolute right to freedom of speech. His parishioners can not all have heard him kindly.

> It is a plain proposition that every one of us has a right to hear whom he pleases, under guidance of his conscience and responsible to God,--and that any number of our citizens can claim to assemble and be allowed to discuss any questions of public interest without molestation. And any one who by riotous proceedings interferes with these rights is a traitor to the people and a public enemy.

As a result of these sermons Simmons was forced to leave his parish. Apparently theological orthodoxy was not enough to protect a minister, if he dared venture into the arena of political conflict. Referring to Simmons, the Rev. Samuel Osgood wrote that "He was a man of the strictest integrity--nothing could induce him to compromise in the least his own well considered and honest convictions."[58] Apparently such rigidity was inappropriate for a successful minister.

Simmons was followed by Francis Tiffany, just graduated from Harvard. Like Peabody, Tiffany's interests were primarily ecclesiastical and literary. The church prospered. He served until 1864, when he became professor of English literature at Antioch College. He was followed by the Rev. Charles A. Humphreys. In 1866 the congregation voted to build a large and ornate Richardson church, an appropriate emblem of prestige. One of the stained glass windows, the "Light Bearer," symbolizing the Light of Truth, was designed by the artist Edward Simmons, G. F. Simmons's son![59] On the cornerstone of the old church had been a statement of intent:

> the Society will from time to time make choice of such pious and prudent men for their Ministers as will not perplex their people with unprofitable speculations of men, but preach and exemplify the plain practical doctrines and precepts contained in the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.[60]

Prudence, of course, is a virtue. Especially of successful ministers!

In contrast to Worcester and Springfield, the Fitchburg parish was the first parish of the town. Before it became Unitarian it had gone through a protracted series of controversies. Fitchburg, from the time of its settlement and the establishment of its parish in 1764, seems to have been rather heterogeneous in population. The geography of the town was such that there was almost no convenient church location for all the residents. For nearly a decade after the Revolution the parish fought over the location of a church. At the turn of the century Baptists, Methodists and Universalists were all seeking exemptions from parochial taxes, and the parish was deeply divided over the preaching of the Rev. Samuel Worcester, a strict Calvinist. Worcester was dismissed, but peace was short-lived. During the pastorate of the Rev. William Eaton a majority of the parish asserted essentially Arminian views, and in 1823 a Calvinist Congregational Society was formed. In 1824 First Parish called a young Harvard graduate, Calvin Lincoln. Lincoln was a conservative Unitarian, theologically very much like W. B. O. Peabody and Alonzo Hill. He seved the Fitchburg parish from 1824 until 1850 when he became Executive Secretary of the American Unitarian Association. He was chosen for that position in part because of his traditional views and strong opposition to Transcendentalism. After three years he left the Association to become minister in Hingham, his home, where he served from 1854 to 1881. He was a classmate and friend of such leading city divines as E. S. Gannett, W. H. Furness, Edward B. Hall, and Alexander Young.[61]

Lincoln published little, and, except for the Unitarian Association, was active in few causes. His activities were almost entirely limited to his parish. His published sermons seem to indicate an opposition to the separation of church and state, and a belief that religion protects property rights.[62] Religion was important to society through its effects on individuals. "Society, well ordered society cannot exist, without the influence of religious considerations."[63] Like Peabody, Calvin Lincoln sought to de-emphasize theological differences. Sectarianism of any kind he disliked.[64] He emphasized the divinity of Christ, and authority of the Old and New Testaments and their historical accuracy, including the reports of miracles.

> It was the tendency, which he thought he observed in his denomination, to eliminate the supernatural, and escape from the grasp of the divine authority of Christ, and the accompanying tendency to rush into a viciously rationalistic individualism, -- it was this which put him intellectually much out of sympathy with many in his fellowship, and caused him to look with grave doubt upon the future of the Unitarian denomination.[65]

Lincoln left Fitchburg partly because he felt unable to keep up with the rapidly changing community. Nevertheless he was successful there, despite a sermon style described as "very chaste, subdued almost to severity....and more fitted for an essay to be read than for a sermon."[66] During his pastorate a new church was built, and the Sunday school was started.[67]

Fitchburg's next permanent minister was the Rev. William P. Tilden, who served from 1855 until 1862. He had served successive pastorates in Concord, Dover and Walpole, New Hampshire during his eleven years in the ministry before coming to Fitchburg. His personal history was unusual. He had been trained as a ship-builder, and worked at the trade until he started to train for the ministry at the suggestion of the Rev. Samuel May. He was converted first to the Baptist religion, attracted by the Arminian theology of the Baptists, and their emphasis on conversion. But "when the doctrinal statements were given to me, I found I could not subscribe to them. I struggled on with a converted heart and an heretical head." Tilden was converted to Unitarianism by a Transcendentalist, whose intellectual interpretation of Christianity was acceptable, and whose emphasis on "reason" Tilden equated with the Holy Spirit experienced in conversion. "The doctrine of the 'Immanence of God' gave the Holy Spirit to me in sweeter, tenderer, more rational form,--an ever present holy influence from God, not going and coming like a revival preacher, but a perpetual indwelling presence."[68]

The divinity student studying privately with Samuel May met many of the reformers of the age. Like both Transcendentalists and Evangelicals he early committed himself to social reform.

"Transcendentalism, non-resistance, anti-slavery, woman's rights, teetotalism, Emerson, Carlyle, Theodore Parker, were my daily meat and drink." As a young minister he conducted revivals in the small Unitarian churches he served. He also frequently preached on social issues. His artisan background, and down-to-earth approach appealed to many, as well as his considerable ability. "The trinity of public evils against which I felt called to wage increasing warfare were war, intemperance, and slavery." With his evangelical Transcendentalist preaching, often on subjects of personal religion, as well as his sermons on social concerns he was soon successful enough to be called to Fitchburg.[69]

Fitchburg was a rapidly growing and changing town on the way to becoming an industrial city. Tilden attempted to address his ministry to the problems of social change confronting the town, as well as to the social issues of the day. He immediately became popular as a preacher, drawing large congregations, but unpopular with the more prominent members of his own parish.

> I think I never quite fitted the Fitchburg parish. There was more or less friction, mainly on account of my anti-slavery views. The majority was with me, but a few prominent members were greatly disturbed.[70]

An examination of the church records shows a number of resignations from the parish during this period, though the number is not larger than during the five years before his coming. Whether or not one note accompanying a resignation is of more than personal significance I cannot say for sure. It was written in 1860.

> This is to certify that if I had not had the care of the meeting House I should have left the day the Rev. Wm. P. Tilden was installed as I did not like him then (sic) nor have I had any reason to change my mind to this day.
>
> (signed) Joseph Pierce[71]

When the Civil War came Tilden was uncertain about his views. While he finally supported it, he was unable to do so with enthusiasm. In the late 1850's he had once tried to resign, but the congregation had voted 107 to 8 not to accept his resignation. However in 1862 they purposely did not vote his salary, perhaps because of his views on the war, and he was forced to resign. His later life was spent as a missionary for the American Unitarian Association, and as a minister to the poor in Boston.

William Phillips Tilden was succeeded by Jared M. Heard who served only a year before his death. The next minister, William L. Chaffin, served less than six months before he was forced to resign because of ill health. Henry F. Jenks, a young graduate of Harvard Divinity School, served from 1867-1870. As with Tilden, the parish was constantly at odds over his ministry. Obviously by this time there was no thought of a settlement for life. Neither was there agreement in expectations, personal or social, for the ministerial role.

The tenure of ministers in the Unitarian Society of Fall River was even more insecure. During the first four decades of the society's existence there were at least eight different ministers, perhaps nine, though the record is not clear. The first, George Ware Briggs, was ordained in Fall River. The only sermon which survives from this period of his life shows the influence of Channing's Baltimore Sermon. It emphasized the moral basis of Christianity, appealed to rationalism, and deprecated creeds. When Unitarianism "speaks of religion, it refers to the spirit of Jesus, and not to a peculiar set of disputed dogmas." "It declares to all men, that they possess powers for an indefinite advancement, for an eternal progress in excellence."[72] Briggs was popular with his parish, but the panic of 1837 nearly wiped out several members of his congregation, and had almost the same effect on the Unitarian Society. They could not pay either his salary or the mortgage. Briggs went on to successful pastorates in Plymouth, Salem and Cambridgeport. If his later sermons and statements reflect the young minister's views, then he interpreted his role in a primarily ecclesiastical sense. His published sermons are addressed to the personal problems of his audience. Theologically he tended to walk a middle path. When a reporter asked him whether he was radical or conservative, he answered, "Both."[73]

For Briggs's opinion of the role of the ministry we must refer to a later period in his life when he was asked to give sermons at ordinations and ceremonial events at which ministers or ministerial students were gathered. These addresses emphasized the preaching function of the ministry, the importance of personal religious experience, and concern with individual morality. "Christianity must thus come to men one by one, not to arraign special sins alone, but to infuse regenerating principles; not to crop the unsightly branches of the tree of evil, but to lay the axe at its very root." "Jesus distinctly proposes the regeneration of the race; but every profound and permanent influence of his gospel is the accumulated result of these individual convictions."[74] Such an individualistic interpretation of the ministerial role, common to almost all American Protestantism in the late nineteenth century, has always prevented real confrontation with social problems in an industrial urban society.

When the Fall River Society reconstituted itself in 1839, it called A. C. L. Arnold, who served but briefly, and about whom there is little information. In 1843 John F. W. Ware was called. Ware served three years before going to a larger church in Cambridgeport. All his writings, which are numerous, date from after the time of his Fall River pastorate. He was an excellent preacher, deeply interested in religious education. He may have had problems in Fall River, mainly of a financial nature, because most of the city center near the church burned the year of his coming, again causing considerable financial loss to the membership.[75]

Samuel Longfellow was ordained in Fall River, February 16, 1848. He was a Harvard graduate, Transcendentalist, son of a prominent lawyer and member of Congress. Longfellow's private letters give a detailed picture of the response of a young intellectual to a new industrial city, as well as some idea of the reciprocal role expectations of ministers and congregations. Before coming to Fall River he had already edited with Samuel Johnson a book of hymns. He was a poet, though of much less talent than his famous brother, and would become not only a preacher of considerable talent, but also a biographer.[76]

Initially Longfellow did not like Fall River, and disapproved of the preoccupation of its residents with manufacturing and money. Nevertheless he hoped that he might have some influence. "It may be Sam that they are now ready for refining and aesthetic influences. They will be at some time of course and I think they must have emerged from the first stage of mere money-making." In his letter accepting the call of the society he emphasized that he did not wish to be labelled Unitarian, that he would speak of "Jesus" rather than "Christ," and that he was concerned with such social problems as war, slavery and intemperance. He was not exclusively interested in social problems, however. He welcomed serious religious interest on the part of his congregation. Besides preaching he started a Bible study group, and gave a series of lectures. He wrote to his friend Samuel Johnson that he wished he "could see more of devout and spiritual life" in the church. Like Tilden he emphasized the Holy Spirit in his preaching, and the importance of personal religious experience. He was explicitly a Transcendentalist, a moderate social reformer, who consistently observed the poverty and lack of community identification in Fall River.[77]

The chairman of the pulpit committee which had called him to the parish was a successful Fall River lawyer, Hezekiah Battelle. Battelle had come to Fall River in 1827, had been one of the founders of the society, had served twice as a member of the state legislature. The last fifteen years of his life, however, he had gone into semi-retirement and "devoted much of his attention to religious matters and questions of theology."[78] He was a regular member of Longfellow's Bible class, and when the young minister had first arrived had offered to spend $500 on books on Christ to study under Longfellow's direction. In 1845 Battelle had published in the Christian Register a "Charge to a Young Minister" supposedly given at a recent ordination. This Charge was republished in November 1847, shortly before Longfellow arrived. An editorial in the same issue had indicated the editor's view that in some respects the charge was "defective and erroneous." In December it further commented that "The Christian preacher who stands in Christ's stead, must be true to Christ's example as a teacher, and therefore must know, and must preach against, the particular moral evils that exist in society."[79]

Battelle lost no time in expressing his views to Longfellow. While the young minister was impressed by the lawyer's interest and desire to study, he could not entirely agree with his opinions, for Battelle would have limited the role of the minister entirely to "religious" matters. Battelle's charge had stated that the minister's duty was to paint in great detail a canvass of the life of Christ, detailing to his congregation every incident, every word, every opinion.

> You will not, therefore, turn aside from this appropriate work. You will not attempt to advance, or oppose, or to treat upon, any of the projects, for civil, social, legal, or moral reform, which agitate the community....because your station is at the fountain and not along the streams. It is not necessary, I am prepared

> to say even, that it may not be expedient for you, to know of all, or of any, of the particular moral evils, that exist among your people, or in the world. It may be enough for you to know, that the race are prone to sin, and that, whatever, at any time, may be the form of its manifestation, the cause is the same, and that you have been consecrated, not to discover and prescribe, but, to *administer* the Heaven-appointed remedy.
>
> You must not, you never will, treat the Scriptures as though they were a collection of topics upon which, or upon such, as they may suggest, you are to write and deliver from your pulpit, essays such as might as well have been written and delivered if Christ had never lived, and taught and suffered;--such as might as appropriately come from a heathen moralist, as from a Christian teacher. You will avoid doing this, not merely for the reason, that, upon many subjects, from your want of experience, in the affairs of active life, your notions must necessarily be immature, and your essay wanting, in that practical wisdom, which should entitle you even to a respectful hearing; but, because it is not the work to which you have been called, and because it would be inconsistent with your faith. This Faith will also save you, from burying your capacity of growth in the grave of any sectarian creed. But if you can enable them to embrace in their view, the events recorded in the Gospels, and remember them so perfectly, and have such a vivid impression of their reality, as they might, were they privileged to enter into the thoughts of those, who acted and spoke, and, in some good measure, to understand the purposes, and sympathize with the emotions of Jesus, each one will embrace such doctrinal opinions, as shall be best suited to his mental or moral advancement. Do this, as you would avoid adding to a growing distrust of the *faith* of the clergy, and to that practical scepticism which, with a blighting influence is overspreading the land.[80]

It is obvious that Battelle's notion of the minister's role was very restrictive. He and Longfellow disagreed, not only in terms of the social reform activities of the minister, but also in terms of theology itself, for the close of the charge no doubt refers to Transcendentalism. Why a committee chaired by Battelle should have called Longfellow in the first place is puzzling, unless they expected the son to reflect the conservatism of his family. Needless to say the two men did not get along. A little less than a year after his ordination, Samuel Longfellow wrote to a friend:

> I came back to Fall River on Thursday afternoon in the Express Train which tore along without stopping and jarred my nerves in the most fearful manner. Thus wearied I had hardly reached here when Battelle appeared and spent the whole evening saying the most disheartening things in his cold manner; about the needs of a minister's recognizing the division of labor and confining himself to the elucidation of the Gospel and leaving slavery and intemperance to be discussed by those who had time and opportunity to examine these subjects thoroughly, as the minister could not if he attended to his proper work. He said I was invited here "not to be a Minister of Religion but a minister of the Gospel." The answers were obvious, but I was too weary to contend with him. Saturday I wrote a Communion sermon: the lesson of which was that the disciples needed the remembrance not so much, or not merely, for their personal consolation: but because they had a work to do ... So that we, too, had a work to do: since Christ's work was not yet completed nor God's Kingdom come: a work indicated in his words "inasmuch as Ye have not done it unto one of the least of these my brethren" and applied it especially to the call made upon a Christian Church by the suffering and sin that existed in the narrow dirty streets and miserable houses where the Fall River poor live in want and sin.[81]

Actually, while Longfellow was personally active in trying to work with the poor, and tried to involve his church members, he does not appear to have been especially organizationally active in reform. He preached on such topics, but was himself not an organization man. His main civic effort seems to have been as a member of the school committee of the town. That he recognized the problems of churches and ministers is evident. Thus referring to the new church in Dorchester he commented that "they wish to build up a Unitarian Society and dare not have a minister who will drive anybody away." In advising his friend to take the church at Upton, in Worcester county, he noted: "You will find yourself much more independent--that is you will find your society so and disposed to have their minister so--if you go out of the circle of Boston influences. Why not prefer to guide sympathizers than to battle opponents."[82] Like other ministers Longfellow was wearied by the constant conflict between the social role expectations of the congregation and his personal role expectations. Offered the opportunity of a free trip to Europe as tutor to the son of a wealthy Boston businessman he resigned. Perhaps he and other ministers with a social conscience were in an impossible position. I am reminded of a note in the Christian Register many years earlier. One minister, it said, had been forced to resign because he would not speak on abolition. Another had been forced to resign about the same time because he spent too much time on abolition.[83] The razor's edge is always painful.

Probably the most successful Unitarian minister in Fall River during this period was Longfellow's successor, Josiah Waite, about whom we have very little information. During his pastorate the local Universalist church closed and its members came to the Unitarian Society.[84] Nevertheless, in 1858, six years after coming to Fall River, he resigned and worked without salary for the next six months as a minister to the poor of the city. He was apparently successful, for the local newspaper reported that "the mission is now on a firm foundation being under the superintendence of committee chosen from the different denominations retaining at the same time its unsectarian and independent character and employing Rev. Andrew D. Milne as missionary."[85] At the Fall River Historical Society is a pitcher engraved as follows: "Presented to Rev. Josiah K. Waite by Citizens of Fall River, Mass. as a token of their respect for his character as a good citizen and faithful Minister of Jesus Christ whose Gospel he has preached for six months without money and without price in our city and vicinity. November 1858."

During the decade of the sixties the society had three ministers, none of whom was outstandingly successful, in part because of deep divisions in the parish. This may have been due to the Civil War, when few churches prospered, as well as to disagreement over relocating the church. I expect most ministers felt fortunate the lifetime settlement was no longer the custom.

I have already outlined the history of Second Parish, Waltham, and given an indication of the activities of Bernard Whitman, the only Unitarian minister who served the parish any length of time. It remains to examine First Parish. The Waltham parish was part of the town until 1820. From 1752 until 1809 it was served by the Rev. Jacob Cushing, known for the gravity of his ministerial manner, his Federalist sympathies, and his love of fishing. On the Sunday after Jefferson's election he preached on the text "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting."[86] He was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Ripley, son of the Rev. Ezra Ripley of Concord, memorialized many years later by Emerson. Ripley's sermon at the ordination of his son emphasized the importance of preaching and prayer, and more than anything else advised his son to be tolerant of religious differences and the congregation to cooperate with one another.[87]

Samuel Ripley served faithfully from 1809 until 1845 despite the vicissitudes of the founding of a second parish, their reuniting, and a low salary. He and his wife retired to the "Old Manse", the family home in Concord. Theologically he shared the views of the first generation of Unitarians. Apparently he was not popular with the operatives at the Boston Manufacturing Company, but what conflict existed during his pastorate seems primarily to have sprung from the boys' school run by himself and his wife. Parishioners complained that it took too much of his time. His opposition to the War of 1812 caused a number of his parishioners to start another society which had only a brief existence. He published little himself, and while conservative in his personal views was on friendly terms with Emerson, Parker and the Transcendentalists.[88]

When the First and Second Parish combined in 1840, the Rev. George F. Simmons, already described in connection with his pastorate in Springfield, was called as minister, while Ripley served as his Associate, partly perhaps to conciliate some of the older members of First Parish. Simmons stayed long enough to marry Ripley's daughter, but was forced to resign for reasons of health. The church then called the Rev. Thomas Hill, just graduated from Harvard. Hill had been a brilliant student, and one of his reasons for settling in Waltham seems to have been the proximity of Harvard and his intimate friends C. S. Peirce and Louis Agassiz. Hill was active in a wide variety of fields. He served on the school committee for fourteen years and introduced a number of innovations into the educational program. He published an elementary arithmetic and a geometry textbook, experimented with shorthand, persuaded the school to teach phonetics, altered the manner of teaching mathematics, and developed materials to demonstrate scientific discoveries. He wrote scholarly papers on mathematics and astronomy and contributed to the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He even invented an adding machine and an electrotyping process. He was a founder and a frequent contributor to the Waltham Sentinel. In 1859 he succeeded Horace Mann as President of Antioch, and became President of Harvard in 1862. His relation to his parish was cordial. In many ways his ministry reminds me of that of Edward Everett Hale in Worcester. He was primarily a pastor, rather than a prophet. His concerns seem to have been expressed organizationally rather than by sermonic argument or condemnation. In some ways his views were similar to the Transcendentalists. Thus, in 1846 he spoke of the superior claim of conscience over human laws. While his point of view was similar to that of Parker's,as expressed in "The Laws of God and the

Statutes of Men," Hill's sermon made no specific applications.[89]

The two ministers who followed Hill served short pastorates. The Rev. James C. Parsons occupied the pulpit from 1860 to 1864, when he resigned because of dissention in the parish over his anti-slavery views! The Rev. Samuel Flagg, described as "cautious, conservative, evangelical, even apostolic, in devotional fervor" was minister until 1869. He was able to rebuild the church during the time of his pastorate.[90]

On the basis of this analysis I would suggest the usefulness of two ideal-types indicative of personal ministerial role expectations. I shall call these the Pastor and the Prophet.[91] The Pastor is primarily oriented to the parish as a social system, and to serving the personal needs and meeting the social role expectations of the members of that social system. So far as he is interested in the community, he serves its established institutions and avoids social controversy. For the most part he shares the value system of his parishioners. The Prophet, on the other hand, sees himself primarily as the spokesman for a set of values, often Biblically rooted, and critic of the values of both his congregation and of society. He may be either or both a theological and social critic. If we apply these types to the ministers studied, we find that in no case did a Prophet have either a harmonious or long pastorate. Ordinarily he was also unsuccessful in attracting members or building a church. Pastors, on the other hand, often had long pastorates, were spoken of with respect by their congregations, and frequently succeeded in building up membership and financial support. Since many men in the ministry were both ambitious and conscientious, it is likely that they possessed in different degrees personal role expectations of both a Pastoral and Prophetic nature, and that their ambivalence caused them to be both unpredictable and personally dissatisfied. This might explain the tendency of many of them to leave the ministry temporarily or permanently for secular occupations. It also explains the general shortening of pastorates, for congregational expectations were constantly contrary to personal expectations. This applies not only to the Prophet, but to the Pastor who was unlucky enough not to be a good preacher or tactful church politician. It is also likely that in a time of rapid social and cultural change parishioners tended to be ambivalent themselves, and perhaps unconsciously guilty enough themselves to resent a figure which they identified with authority and tradition, with the values for which their fathers had stood. However theoretically compatible Unitarianism was with the Prophetic image, congregations struggling for members and money could not tolerate a Prophet as minister. The implications of the faith confronted the realities of the social system and floundered on its demands. While Unitarianism was progressive in terms of the values of the middle class, it was not ordinarily prophetic. It continues to deceive itself in this regard even today.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER IX

[1] These terms were defined and related to my conceptual framework in the Introduction.

[2] See Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies, p. 295ff. Such differentiation is supposedly somewhat analogous to that taking place in the process of evolution. Is there, however, any such thing as natural selection at the level of society? When I say that religion broadened its functional appeal, I mean that it attempted to meet a wider range of members' primary or secondary needs.

[3] See Appendix III.

[4] Discourse Delivered Before the Second Congregational Society in Worcester, on the Eighth Day of April, 1827, The Lord's Day Following the Ordination of Rev. Alonzo Hill (Worcester, 1827), pp. 6-9.

[5] In a Letter to the Members of Second Parish. SSP, File 1869.

[6] Letter from SCRUTATOR, December 19, 1840.

[7] The Twenty-sixth Report of the American Unitarian Association... May 25, 1851 (Boston, 1851), p. 26ff.

[8] Christian Register, April 5, 1845 and November 7, 1840.

[9] Bellows, 8.

[10] May 30, 1857.

[11] Katz, 156.

[12] Green, 332.

[13] See Appendix IV.

[14] May 18, 1850.

[15] Quarterly Journal of the American Unitarian Association, I (January, 1854), p. 130.

[16] May 1, 1848.

[17] The debate over the ministry runs through many issues of the *Christian Register*. For instance, see those for April 26, 1834; August 28, 1841; December 12, 1846; August 1, 1846; August 22, 29, 1846; November 5, 1848; May 18, 1850; August 21, 1858; December 12, 1865.

[18] Letter from Albert Tolman, March 11, 1846. SPP, Unity Box, File 1846.

[19] See The *Christian Register* for October 17, 1840; January 17, 1857; August 21, 1858; also Numbers 44-46 for 1865; also *Quarterly Journal*, I, Nos. 1 and 2 (October 1853 and January 1854).

[20] See Appendix IV.

[21] *Christian Register*, December 12, 1846. See also the issues of December 2, 1848 and August 21, 1858.

[22] *Quarterly Journal*, I, No. 1 (1853), p. 76.

[23] *Recollections*, 5.

[24] *Christian Register*, November 25, 1848.

[25] *The Unitarian Autumnal Convention, A Sermon* (Boston, 1853), p. 11.

[26] *Christian Register*, March 20, 1841. See also *Quarterly Journal*, I, No. 4 (1854), p. 388.

[27] Bancroft has been neglected by Historians, partly, no doubt, because he was not a Boston Unitarian. Brief accounts of his life may be found in the *DAB*, I, 560; Smalley, 249ff; as well as in other standard Unitarian biographical sources. See my bibliography for a critical description of his publications and other sources related to his life and work.

[28] *Discourse at the Ordination of Alonzo Hill*, 10.

[29] *Christian Register*, January 27, 1838.

[30] *Diary of Isaiah Thomas*, I, 127.

[31] *Diary*, 252.

[32] Aaron Bancroft's Letters to His Son, George Bancroft, October 10, 1818 - August 14, 1838 are in The Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York.

[33] Letter of March 19, 1856, at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[34] Letter of November 30, 1826, in the George Bancroft Papers, Collection of Regional History and University Archives, Cornwell Universi

[35] SPP, File 1869. Details of Hill's life may be found in Smalley, and the usual Unitarian biographical sources.

[36] See the section of my bibliography on Hill.

[37] *A Sermon on the Death of Rev. Alonzo Hill, D.D.* (Worcester, 1871), p. 15.

[38] Joseph Allen, *A Commemorative Discourse on Rev. Alonzo Hill, D.D., of Worcester* (Boston, 1871), p. 3.

[39] SPP, Unity Box, File 1846.

[40] *The Lord Visits and Redeems His People: A Sermon Preached at the Installation of Rev. E. B. Willson as Minister of the First Parish at West Roxbury* (Boston, 1852), pp. 7, 18-19. For material on Hale consult Edward E. Hale, Jr., *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale* (2 Vols.; Boston, 1917), and Jean Holloway, *Edward Everett Hale, A Biography* (Austin, Texas, 1956). The latter book over-emphasizes Hale's literary activities at the expense of his ministry.

[41] See Hale, *Life and Letters*, I, 164-268.

[42] *A Sermon: Preached After a Ten Year's Ministry in the Church of the Unity, Worcester, Mass., Dec. 27, 1868* (Worcester, 1869).

[43] *Sermon at Fifty Years*, 5.

[44] Edward E. Hale, "The Christian Ministry in Large Cities," p. 39.

[45] Familiar Address, 14.

[46] Sermons, 153.

[47] Sermons, 254-255, 258.

[48] The Duties and Dangers of Those Who are Born Free. A Sermon Preached at the Annual Election, January 2, 1833, Before .... Levi Lincoln (Boston, 1833), p. 12. This statement in itself indicates the change in opinion concerning the place of religion in the community.

[49] Letter to William Ware, December 20, 1839, at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[50] Letter to William Ware, December 24, 1840, at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[51] Letter to William Ware, December 20, 1839.

[52] Quoted from the Christian Missionary Herald in the Christian Register, February 9, 1833.

[53] See G. F. Simmons, Two Sermons on the Kind Treatment and on the Emancipation of Slaves..Preached at Mobile (Boston, 1840).

[54] William B. Sprague, ed., Unitarian Congregational, Vol. VIII, Annals of the American Pulpit (New York, 1857-1869), pp. 554-559.

[55] Thayer, Samuel Ripley, p. 53.

[56] See his Letter to the So-Called 'Boston Churches', which are in Truth Only Parts of One Church (Boston, 1846); The Trinity: Its Scripture Foundation, and the Early Construction of Church Doctrines Respecting It (Springfield, 1849).

[57] This and the quotations that follow are from G. F. Simmons, Public Spirit and Mobs. Two Sermons Delivered at Springfield, Mass., on Sunday, February 23, 1851, after the Thompson Riot (Springfield, 1851).

[58] Sprague, 559.

[59] G. P. Goward, "Years of Ferment and Change," typed, Springfield, 1961. Mrs. Goward has written a history of the Springfield society.

[60] Humphreys, 13.

[61] Lincoln has left few literary remains. My impression is that his first name, so far as character is concerned, was appropriate. For material on his life, see Stebbins, and the usual Unitarian biographical resources.

[62] Lincoln, *Sermon on Morning of Annual Fast*.

[63] *A Sermon to Young Men*.

[64] *Evils of Sectarianism: A Sermon Preached at Fitchburg, Sunday, April 9, 1843* (Fitchburg, 1843).

[65] Stebbins, 48.

[66] Stebbins, 58, 17.

[67] *Fitchburg Sentinel*, June 28, 1937.

[68] *William Phillips Tilden: Autobiography and Personal Tributes* (Boston, 1891), p. 69ff.

[69] *Tilden: Autobiography*, 124ff.

[70] *Tilden: Autobiography*, 130.

[71] "Parish Records, Book 2, 1850-1878," Fitchburg Historical Society.

[72] *A Sermon, Preached at the Dedication of the Unitarian Church, in Fall River, Mass., January 28, 1835* (Fall River, 1835).

[73] Samuel Eliot, *Heralds*, III, 40. See also Briggs, *Bow in the Cloud*. These sermons by Briggs were all Bible centered, and tended to see change *sub specie eternatatis* in an explicitly Christian sense.

[74] *The Conditions of Ministerial Power: An Address Delivered Before the Graduating Class in the Theological School at Meadville, Penn., Wednesday Evening, June 29, 1859* (Boston, 1859). See also *The Living Ministry: Its Preparation and Its Work. An Address Delivered Before the Graduating Class in the Theological School at Cambridge, Sunday Evening, July 15, 1855* (Cambridge, 1855).

[75] See Fuller, "History."

[76] For a list of his works see DAB, XI, 387.

[77] Letters to Samuel Johnson, November 29, 1847; December 6, 1847; December 11, 1847.

[78] *Centennial History*, 31.

[79] July 26, 1845; November 11, 1847; December 25, 1847.

[80] Summarized from the *Christian Register*, July 26, 1845.

[81] Letter to Samuel Johnson, September 5, 1848.

[82] Letters to Samuel Johnson, February 27, 1849 and June 7, 1849.

[83] January 27, 1838.

[84] See Fuller.

[85] *Fall River Weekly News*, December 2, 1858.

[86] Sanderson and Castner, 9.

[87] *Fidelity in Christian Ministers. A Sermon, Delivered, November 22, 1809, at the Ordination of Rev. Samuel Ripley to the Care of the Church and Congregation in Waltham, and Published by Request* (Boston, 1809).

[88] Sanderson and Castner, 8-12, and Thayer, 46.

[89] *Law: A Sermon* (Boston, 1846). Material on Hill may be Found in William G. Land, *Thomas Hill: Twentieth President of Harvard* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), esp. pp. 68-91.

[90] Sanderson and Castner, 14.

[91] Such ideal types applied to religious figures have been extensively used by sociologists. See, for instance, Chapter V, Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, E. Fischoff, trans. (Boston, 1963). I wish to emphasize that both of these types, as I have constructed them, attempt to work within a particular religious social system. Perhaps Thomas Wentworth Higginson was more the Prophet than any of the clergy I have considered. He expressed his opinion bluntly. Noting that the minister was not supposed to discuss either politics or trade, he added: "And so at last, cut off from all occupations of all men, what is left in which religion *is* excellent? Nothing, apparently, except in sustaining Sunday worship and paying the salaries of the clergy while they denounce the sins of the Jews and let those of Americans alone. But as this subdivision of conscience requires a skill which is not commonly taught in Theological Schools, it obviously bears rather hard upon the young clergyman. If...there is to be no difference between a minister and a weathercock, except that one is outside the meeting-house and the other inside, then I think the sooner we all become non-conformists and come-outers the better." (Things New and Old: An Installation Sermon [Worcester, 1852], pp. 8, 9.)

CHAPTER X

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL THINKING ABOUT THEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CHANGE: THE TABLES TURNED

Any intellectual discipline has at least two dimensions. First, each discipline has a body of propositions and conventional methods which constitute its substance. This is just as true of theology as it is of philosophy or of sociology. Typically Protestant theology begins with propositions about God and Christ in the Bible, and attempts to organize these propositions into a coherent system. If one is to approach theology on its own grounds, one must either accept or reject the book on which the system is based, or else argue that the book does not support the propositions claimed, or that the logic with which the system is developed is faulty. Ordinarily the intellectual historian will approach a discipline, or an historical era with the sympathetic intent of accepting it on its own terms, for it is only on those terms that those within the discipline or the time may be understood and judged.

The second dimension of the discipline is its association with variables external to itself. Here the association is not necessary, but contingent, and subject to empirical investigation. Such is the nature of the sociology of theology, for it concerns itself with the greater than random association between particular theological opinions and various social characteristics. Ernst Troelsch, Max Weber, Joachim Wach, H. Richard Niebuhr and many other scholars have concerned themselves with this association. Such an investigation has nothing to do with the truth or falsity of the theological opinions, which is a matter of the first dimension. Nor is it the responsibility of the scientist, *qua* scientist, to judge one world view in terms of his own. He will confine himself to asking such questions as whether there is any particular association between theological viewpoints and social characteristics of groups, or between theological viewpoints and attitudes towards society? If there is, why? The answer to the last question is mostly a matter of speculation, though none the less interesting. These are the questions I ask in this chapter in regard to Unitarianism, and especially in regard to the specific parishes which have been the object of this monograph.

But first it is necessary to make another distinction. Theology and the philosophy of religion are separate disciplines. Theology and especially the vocabulary it uses, have a close relationship to the cultic practices of any religious group. The words used in services of worship, and the events depicted in celebration and sermon, at least in Protestantism, come either from the Bible, or in some cases from the historic creeds, and thus are intimately related to theology. The philosophy of religion, on the other hand, need not have any such intimate connection with the cult, or even with the theological vocabulary. Ministers with very different philosophies of religion may preach without use of different vocabularies or even reference to their philosophical points of view. In the context of Roman Catholicism, for instance, Thomism constitutes the dominant philosophy of religion, but is not by any means a matter of *fides*, or even *proxima* fides. A Roman Catholic must believe in God, but does not have to believe in any particular argument for God's existence. The first is a matter of faith, the second, of philosophy. So too, the Protestant must accept Christ as his Lord and Saviour. However the question of how he knows this is a philosophical question (beyond the psychological level), involving some kind of epistemological commitment.

An intellectual historian preoccupied with nineteenth century New England religion must concern himself with several theological positions, some differing from others in only insignificant ways. He has to deal with only two important philosophies of religion-the common sense philosophy deriving from Locke and Paley, and idealism, in New England popularly known as Transcendentalism. The Unitarian controversy was primarily theological at least as the orthodox choose to interpret it, and is not unlike many doctrinal disputes throughout Christian history, though its doctrinal aspect has been over-emphasized. The conflict between most pre-Civil War Transcendentalists and the Unitarians was primarily over the philosophy of religion, rather than doctrine. Eventually, of course, idealism influenced many theologians besides Unitarians. The sociological importance of this distinction between theology and philosophy of religion is that it may result in quite different verbal behavior, at the level of the cult. Theological differences may imply special emphasis on or disbelief in certain theological doctrines, or changes in ecclesiastical practice. Philosophical differences imply no such cultic changes, though they may involve some differences in emphasis. Thus a minister oriented to the common sense philosophy, and a minister oriented to idealism, may use exactly the same words in the pulpit, administer the same sacraments, and follow the same order of service. The case of the New Testament miracles is an appropriate illustration. Many of the idealists believed in miracles. Truth was not the issue. Emphasis was. Their intention was to change the emphasis from what they considered externals to the inner realities of religious life. "Christianity has been more injured than aided by the indiscreet attempts of its defenders to ground its authority on external proofs."[1] "The Transcendentalists...had felt justified in retaining the Unitarian name because they regarded their faith as essentially Christian..., and had carefully confined their differences...to the question of the sources of religious authority."[2] An argument over the importance of the New Testament miracles did not necessarily require that the minister bring this concern into the pulpit (he could simply ignore it), or that his concern effect his cultic practices.

Any historian of nineteenth century Unitarianism must concern himself with three theologies, Arminianism, classical Unitarianism, and Transcendentalism. Perhaps the most famous advocates of these theologies were, in turn, Charles Chauncy, William Ellery Channing and Ralph Waldo Emerson. No doubt other figures might serve as well, Jonathan Mayhew, Andrews Norton, and Theodore Parker, for instance. Still, all histories seem to feel obligated to deal with these theologies, and with the famous Unitarian controversy of the decade after 1815, and the tempest in a teapot over Emerson's Divinity School Address of 1838. In my own opinion, however, historians have vastly overemphasized the social importance of these controversies. An event of significance to the intellectual historian may not have the same significance to the social historian or historical sociologist because basic ideas change very slowly at the group level, and therefore intellectual innovators may be many decades ahead of their time, meaning that they express ideas long before the ideas are widely accepted. It is partly this mistake which has prevented historians from correctly understanding what they have interpreted as the sudden popular rise of Unitarianism and then its apparent equally rapid halt. Perhaps, also, such events have been overemphasized because of the general lack of serious intellectual substance in the America of the early national period. Nearly a century intervened after the death of Edwards before American culture matured enough to ferment minds equal to the European vintage. The New England vat matured a few decades earlier than the rest, making it a profitable cask for first and second generation recollectors, autobiographers, memorialists and essayists, and favorite subject for latter day wholesalers in the academic market place, though I occasionally wonder if some of us nowadays are not impiously laboring to turn the water in long empty vats into wine. The New Englanders thought they were important and said so, at great length, and in many volumes. Subsequently, intellectual historians looking for a topic have been mesmerized by the sheer mass of materials into drinking interminably at this intellectual oasis. It has been said that history is written by the victors. Since Unitarianism as a religious movement could hardly be said to have been victorious, then the victors in this case seem to have won the battle for souls, but lost the war for minds. Perhaps the aphorism should be changed. History is always written by the literate.

It is my impression that the importance of Unitarianism as a distinctive theological doctrine, even among the first generation of Unitarians, has been vastly exaggerated. This is certainly true of the parishioners and ministers with whom I have dealt here. The parish which called Aaron Bancroft in 1785 was Arminian. Fifty years after his ministry began the aged pastor recalled that "Two or three years after my settlement, a distinguished member of the society came to me in evident excitement and said, it is reported, that you deny the underived Divinity of the Saviour; such a report credited would shake our society to its center."[3] W. B. O. Peabody in 1843 emphasized that those who called him were anti-Calvinists and Arminians, and that he did not care for the name Unitarian.[4] As late as 1881 Thomas Hill wrote of the Unitarians that "they are not...to be distinguished by any particular passages, nor by any particular stress upon special doctrines; but rather by their denial of the importance and value of any doctrine which requires special and ingenious interpretation, or acute and profound speculation to establish it."[5] It was Hill's opinion that even in 1880 the great majority of Unitarians shared the views of the first generation of denominational leaders, including belief in Christ and His Resurrection, as well as in the New Testament as an accurate historical narrative of the life of Christ. Calvin Lincoln, former minister at Fitchburg, told his Hingham congregation in 1869 that "Our fathers, with all Protestants, were unquestioning believers in the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of faith and practice..Most certainly they did not cross the ocean and endure the hardships of the wilderness to form a Lyceum for the study of the sciences, nor to found a school of philosophy." Continuing, he asserted that they accepted the Son of God as Lord and Saviour. "This was the one prominent doctrine in the covenants used in the admission of members to church privileges....on this foundation I thank God it stands today."[6] During the period between 1800 and 1870 I doubt whether one Unitarian in ten could be found who would disagree with the Rev. Joshua Young that Unitarians "believe in God; in the Holy Spirit; in Jesus Christ; in the Cross; the Atonement; in Sin and Holiness; in the Life everlasting; in the Judgment to come; in the communion of saints, and in the Holy Catholic Church. Unitarians believe in the Bible."[7] Most Unitarians would have echoed the Unitarian millionaire, Amos Lawrence, "I have no hope in isms, but have strong hope in the cross of Christ."[8] Such statements were common, and until this century would have represented the great majority of Unitarian ministers and laymen. They would have wholeheartedly accepted the theme of the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches, "Christ, the Hope of the World," though they would have been quite disturbed at the radicalism, both theological and social, of some of the Episcopal, Lutheran, Presbyterian and Methodist, to say nothing of the Congregationalist delegates.

Men such as Andrews Norton, E. S. Gannett, N. L. Frothingham, Orville Dewey and other classical Unitarians have had a bad press. This is understandable. So far as I am aware there is not one historical study of the last half of the nineteenth century which was written by a sympathizer with the classical Unitarians. Most of the biography, history and reminiscence was written by Transcendentalists or members of the Free Religious Association, all of whom battled with the classical Unitarians, and all of whom, both in 1853 and 1865 lost the battle to make Unitarianism explicitly a non-Christian sect. What Channing and other first generation Unitarians advocated was freedom of opinion both as to what they considered non-essential doctrines of Christianity and philosophical speculation. They shared a commitment to Christianity. They assumed all Unitarians shared that commitment. The challenge of Transcendentalism and Free Religion prompted the faltering denomination to a self-searching which re-affirmed its Christian identity and which represented the great majority of the membership. The histories then are anything but objective. Their bias is concealed by their literary merit and the lack of equally facile contradictory witnesses.

Of the twenty-one ministers considered in this study, only two could be considered to deviate significantly from the traditional Unitarian Christian position, William P. Tilden of Fitchburg, and Samuel Longfellow of Fall River. Both were deeply affected by Transcendentalism and the social reform movements of the time. Their pastorates involved them in conflicts with parishioners which have already been detailed. They constitute a very small sample, but it may be worthwhile to examine their theological opinions, in contrast with the classical Unitarians', in order to speculate on the relation between theological belief and social attitudes, especially towards social change. Might there be a relationship between theological opinion and perceived social facts to which an individual attributes importance?

Classical Unitarianism emphasized the rational in relation to the divine, that is in relation to the interpretation of Revelation. Rationality, as they meant it, had a universal validity which was not contradicted by special Revelation. Human rationality came from the same ultimate source as Revelation. Revelation itself was only meaningful on rational grounds, if only because necessarily the expression of Revelation must take on rational form in order to achieve communication. However this rationality was basically literal and commonsensical. It was quite the opposite from the Platonic ideas or the rationalism of Leibnitz or Spinoza. It was basically a practical-minded, this-worldly rationalism. It tended to reduce religion to the non-poetic, and neglected the speculative, tragic or metaphysical dimensions entirely.

Classical Unitarianism was highly moralistic in the individual sense. This moralism was preeminently middle class, though by the middle of the century it tended toward the upper class, and therefore could sanction expressive activities within conventional limits, and value leisure, if not always enjoy it. Voluntarism, education, progress, gentility were among its values. While hard work was valued, by the middle of the century enough Unitarians had "arrived" so that a mere emphasis on virtues leading to upward mobility was inadequate, accept as advice to the young. Emerson's criticism of Unitarianism, often repeated, as a "cold" religion is somewhat unfair. If by that he meant it lacked the social participation connotations which have since come to be associated with American churches, that is probably true, as I have already demonstrated. But Emerson, who "liked the silent church" and was attracted to the Quakers did not mean that. Rather he was unfavorably contrasting Unitarianism to the exciting Evangelicals with their revivalism, and the Transcendentalists with their emphasis on rich inner life. If classical Unitarianism lacked this, then so have virtually all other middle class churches. Unitarianism was probably about as cold as the great mass of middle class Protestant American churches are today. Like the minister in contemporary Springdale, the Unitarian minister was expected to get along with his congregation, be non-controversial and non-political, give shorter sermons, and not speculate on abstruse theological subjects.[9] It is somewhat difficult to be warm within these expectations. Classical Unitarians advocated a middle class ethic, somewhat like the Protestant Ethic, but this surely was not a unique characteristic.

Classical Unitarianism emphasized the reality of personal immortality awarded to those living a virtuous middle class life. In this it was reassuring to all of those who, in a time before the development of modern medicine, were subject to disease and sudden death without respect to social status. Immortality was offered through acceptance of Christ as a messenger for God, and as exemplar.

> No one can with indifference contemplate a blessed immortality. Immortal happiness is an object of infinite value, and not an individual can deliberately reject it. Soon you will individually be summoned before the Judge of all, to render an account of the manner in which you shall have improved your Christian privileges. Examine yourselves. How have you used the talents committed to your management? Have your moral attainments corresponded to your Christian advantages? On what evidence do you rest your persuasion, that you are qualified for the society of heaven? Do your conversation and general conduct comport with your Christian vocation? Are you conscious that you live habitually under impressions of divine superintendence, and with a view to divine approbation? Do you live habitually in the exercise of rational offices of piety? Are you just, benevolent and charitable to your fellow men? Do you keep yourselves unspotted from the world, and, under the influence of our religion, discipline your passions and appetites? Do heads of families faithfully perform their duty towards each other, and to their children and dependents? Are our youth sober-minded?[10]

There is no question in this peroration which requires a change in society or the hearer's acceptance of society. The only change would be in the hearer's behavior or his relation to himself, based on particular acts or habits. The effect, nevertheless, of what is essentially an appeal to self-interest is great.

Thus Christopher Columbus Baldwin, one of Bancroft's parishioners, wrote:

> I have many times wished I could be religious, and were it not that I sometimes carry myself with a 'light carriage', I would become a Church member. I once doubted the truth of the divine origin of Christianity, but now I am cured of that, having read the New Testament in the Greek and thought enough upon the subject to convince myself of its truth, and that my own happiness, if nothing more, would be reason enough why I should embrace it.[11]

A number of the ministers whom we have considered published book-length collections of sermons. Among these were Aaron Bancroft, William B. O. Peabody, George F. Simmons, George W. Briggs, and Samuel Longfellow.[12] Not one sermon, even in Longfellow's collection, advocates reform of a specific social problem, out of a total of seventy-six included, except perhaps Peabody's "The Ethics of War," given at the time of the Mexican War. The sermons deal with questions of doctrine, often with death and immortality, with individual sins and virtues, or very occasionally with the moral aspects of special topics, such as Peabody's "On Reading Works of Fiction."

What classical Unitarianism did was allow its adherents to work within the value context of secular American society feeling that those values, coupled with individual virtue,were sanctioned by religion, and would not hinder, and might lead to immortality. "The act of joining a religious group manifests publicly the adherence to this value system and to the majority of the nation which embraces it. Religion is something for those who have a stake in and a commitment to society as it now exits."[13] Those are the words of a twentieth century critic of American Christianity. He adds "The social irrelevance of the religious establishment is its functionality."[14] Classical Unitarians were probably the first Protestant denomination to work out the formula of accommodation to secular society, partly because they were representatives of the pioneer urban middle class, and partly because their emphasis on reason and freedom permitted them to adjust to the demands of secular society somewhat more easily than other Protestant churches, though today there is little difference. Most of the sermons of Channing or Dewey could be given today by a Baptist, Methodist or Congregationalist minister without his congregation being the wiser. Even the ecumenical movement is anticipated in Channing's emphasis on the unity of Christians despite their differences, and their membership in the catholic church. I suspect this is because certain vital characteristics of Channing's ethos spread to other segments of American society later. These characteristics are necessary before theological accommodation occurs at the mass level.

The rationalism involved in industrial capitalism is basically of three kinds, mechanical, organizational and financial. Perhaps the first kind, that involved in technological innovation, is least important, for without organization and capital its social effects would be minimized. This is especially true once the basic innovation has been made. Once the power loom had been invented, for instance, subsequent modifications and improvements did not result in any significant new kinds of social system innovation. Ultimately both mechanical and organizational innovations were judged by financial criteria. The eschatological is contained in the annual report to stockholders. Rational not only connotes judgments made on such a basis, but also the intent to change and manipulate social behavior on the basis of such figures, rather than on the basis of custom or sentiment. Necessarily such judgments are cold, impersonal, and calculated. They do not allow primary ideals to interfere. A culture based on such values may produce more "goods," economically and even ethically, for more people, but at the sacrifice of tradition, primary security, and personalism in human relationships. The instrument of fate becomes the market, not even a personal vindictive God, whose wrath, however terrible, may be understood on human terms.

Classical Unitarians accepted such a system and saw that it was good, partly, no doubt, because they profited from it. Edward Everett, for instance, Unitarian minister, scholar, orator, and politician frequently spoke on its behalf. Thus in an address before the Mechanics Library Association of Boston entitled "Accumulation, Property, Capital, Credit" he defended it. Noting first that there should be no distinction between capital and labor, he went on to assert that both producing and accumulating classes are necessary. Commerce depends upon accumulation, and accumulation by exchange, benefits others. In order to exchange articles accumulated "it is necessary that (they) should be safe in the hands of their owners...and the laws of society...are founded on this truth."

"Capital is property, which a man has acquired by his industry, or has, under the law of the land, become possessed of in some other way; and which is invested by him in that form, and employed in that manner, which best suits his education, ability, and taste." He pointed to the benefits the country derived from expanding industry, and noted that the accumulation of capital was necessary for that development. The benefits of industrialism might be seen in Lowell with her "palaces of...industry, side by side with her churches and her school houses, the long lines of her shops and warehouses." Concluding, he pointed out the importance of economics in the development of Boston and advised the members of the Library to regard wealth "as the instrument of doing, as well as of enjoying good."[15]

Max Weber points out that "Unlimited greed for gain is not in the least identical with capitalism, and is still less in its spirit. Capitalism may even be identical with the restraint, or at least a rational tempering, of this irrational impulse."[16] In this sense Unitarian ministers for the most part only condemned the individual sin of over-indulgence, or consumption, and thus sanctioned restraint. Some of Aaron Bancroft's generation, old men by the 1830's, when change and speculation were accelerating, were especially apt to speak in these terms. Bancroft's last sermon concerned itself with the responsibilities of those with wealth. "Woe to him that increases that which is not his; for better is a little with righteousness, than great revenues without right."[17] In his fiftieth anniversary sermon he had warned his congregation:

> Remember, that prosperity, as well as adversity, has its temptations. Presume not on your elevation, vaunt not of your power...Bound not your views by narrow limits, but weigh your public duties, be rich in good works, be ready to distribute, willingly communicate, laying a good foundation against the time to come.[18]

Calvin Lincoln spoke in a similar vein. "Study and toil are the conditions on which improvement and virtue are to be secured." Men should feel "that what of property they possess is a trust from Heaven, and they will not waste it in folly and useless decorations, but will strive, by honest industry to provide for their own necessities in sickness and old age, and to secure for themselves the luxury of relieving the want of the ignorant and destitute."[19]

One who has accepted Octavius Brooks Frothingham's interpretation of the Unitarians as "the first...who deliberately substituted a rational idealism for the creed; who adopted art, humanity, literature as expressions of the divine mind; who set up social morality as a means of grace..." is accepting only a partial truth.[20] I have already indicated the extent to which Unitarianism was an accommodation of Christianity to the New England middle class, but Frothingham over-emphasizes the high cultural aspects of this accommodation, partly, perhaps, because he is thinking in terms of his father. He neglects the quite sincere emphasis on Christ and immortality. More importantly, because of his literary preoccupation, he leaves out the Unitarian muscle, the hard-headed industrial capitalists and politicians who made up the core of the movement, who, in many cases, were neither artistically nor culturally inclined. Both Theodore Parker and Henry Ward Bellows discerned this. Parker's words were hard and plain because he knew the nature of the men he was speaking to. Bellows referred to " 'The solid men' of Boston...who carry the ballast of great wealth, fixed policy, decided political convictions, and habits of individual independence. While they are apt to move together, or not at all, their unanimity is the result of similar interests and opinions, not of mere gregarious sympathy."[21]

All the congregations we have studied contained such men. Springfield, for instance, was dominated by the Dwights, who, in the early years of the century

> had spread their mercantile relations in a way to command the course of trade..., and to their enterprise is due an important part of Springfield's commercial advancement...The firm adopted the practice of setting up their clerks in business in the surrounding towns, but retaining an interest in the various stores. .... J. and E. Dwight owned several coasting vessels between Hartford and Boston and New York, and were interested...in a line of boats between Hartford and Springfield. The Dwights were also interested in banking business in Springfield, Greenfield, Geneva, Cleveland, and Detroit.[22]

George Bliss, Jr., promoter, director and president of several railroads, including the Western, Chicago and Rock Island, Michigan Southern and Chicago and Mississippi, as well as lawyer and politician, was another active member of the Springfield Unitarian society. There were men of similar interests active in all the parishes under study. Their presence must have been due to factors other than the polite and refined gentility which marks Frothingham's interpretation. Most of them were native New Englanders. Some of them were from old high status families, but most of them were either first or second generation members of the middle class, descendents of farmers, and experienced with a plow. At least in the early part of their lives they were still upwardly mobile. Some of them had close commercial and family associations with Boston. To them, in my own opinion, Unitarianism was a religion of a practical-minded merchant class, the independent entrepreneur, now turned industrial capitalist and railroad builder, applying much the same ethic of thrift, hard work, and close accounting to corporations of large capital, that they had formerly applied to their own merchant establishments, or commercial speculations. If the counting room of the local establishment was less important than the Boston exchange, the principles according to which both operated were much the same. Intangible gentility or quiet literary scholarship was not as important (except to keep ministers harmlessly occupied) as was the common sense literalism of a faith based on the New Testament, guaranteeing immortality to the conventionally virtuous, and identified at least somewhat with New England's past. As Frothingham, himself, noted, the conflicts he suffered in his first congregation were due to his "transcendentalism and their sensationalism."[23] As with Samuel Longfellow this verbal description designated the difference between a young, introspective idealism, and a realistic, practical acceptance of society as it was constituted. It was the businessman replying that the minister was "wholly unacquainted with the world in which (he is) so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs."[24]

For the young Transcendentalists, on the other hand, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was most important. While the doctrine had a basis in idealism, its ecclesiastical expression was in conventional theological terms. It was much the same doctrine in more generalized form as that which the more Christocentric Evangelicals preached. I have already referred to William P. Tilden's conversion to a Transcendental form of Unitarianism based on the Holy Spirit, "an ever present holy influence from God, not going and coming like a revival preacher, but a perpetual, indwelling presence." "So my preaching was mainly on personal religion and the need of a divine life to each individual soul."[25] Samuel Longfellow independently came to the same conclusions. Thus he wrote to his close friend Samuel Johnson that he felt "more and more, that the great doctrine that needs to be preached into the ear of this generation is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit -- the Word of the living, present God -- which whoso receiveth to them it gives power to be the sons of God. This faith only can redeem our age from materialism."[26] He reiterated much the same thing to his Brooklyn church nearly a decade later. He sounds surprisingly modern when he tells his congregation that "Experimental science discovers in nature no God; for that science is concerned only with phenomena, and there is no passage from the phenomenal to the real, from matter to spirit." "Let us think of God as the all-pervading Life, the all-embracing Energy, which lives at every point, and wherever it lives is Thought and Love, is Spirit, and so is Person." "The truth which flashes on our reason, the justice which kindles in our conscience, the love which glows in our hearts, the energy which animates our wills, --these are the influxes of God into them".[27] The doctrine of the Holy Spirit was the ecclesiastical expression of Emerson's Divinity School Address in terms theologically intelligible. Hedge emphasized it as well. "We cannot hope to prosper, if we sacrifice our own instinct to formal reasons and the judgment of others." "The individual no more than society can dispense with the Holy Ghost. The rich requires it as well as the poor." "It is only through his Spirit that God becomes to us a person and reality."[28]

If we examine the group attitudes clustered around the two sets of theological opinion, around classical Unitarianism, on the one hand, and Transcendentalism on the other, we find that each comprised a set of attitudes, a syndrome. Classical Unitarians were rational in the literal, common sensical manner; they accepted religion on the basis of sensible authority, i.e., the New Testament miracles as historical events; they affirmed the technological, organizational and economic innovations which were taking place, mainly through financial calculation; they advocated a devout individual moralism predicated on immortality through belief in Christ as an individual moral exemplar and divine messenger; they believed in education, in "Christian nurture", and in the doctrine of stewardship and philanthropy. Transcendentalists, on the other hand, emphasized the Holy Spirit, and accepted religion on the authority of individual inner experience of that Spirit; they generally depreciated social change of the technological and organizational kind, often referring to it as "materialism"; they disliked calculation, financial or otherwise; they affirmed moral absolutes unrelated to social convention but close to primary group ideals; while they believed in immortality, their virtue was not predicated on self-interest; they believed in social reform, and tended to see the evils of the status quo rather than its accomplishments. Stewardship and philanthropy did not interest them as much as basic changes in the structure of society often founded on a spiritualization of individual men. Many of both groups came from the middle and upper classes. Why, then, the clustering of these ideas? There is no logical reason why organizational innovation should not go hand and hand with belief in the Holy Ghost. Or is there?

Let us hypothesize two ideal types: the culture system innovator and the social system innovator. Is it not remarkable that no social system innovators, Amos Lawrence or George Bliss, Jr., for instance, were Transcendentalists? Is it not equally remarkable that no culture system innovator was a classical Unitarian? A classical Unitarian might make a contribution in terms of the existing culture system, but not question its basic premises. On the other hand he could affirm organizational and economic innovations which would drastically change the face of society. A Transcendentalist might suggest an idea, or question an old authority which would outrage the classical Unitarian, yet the Transcendentalist would condemn and reject the organizational and economic innovations which his supposedly conservative friend would affirm and welcome. To one the other was a sensationalist or materialist. To the other the one was a mystical dreamer totally unprepared for the real world.

Contemporary studies of church membership have shown that there are wide individual differences in the orientations of members. One empirical study, for instance, finds that a church may contain four different types of members: the cognitive type, who is intellectually oriented; the cultic type, who is organizationally oriented; the creedal type, who is belief oriented; and the devotional type, who emphasizes feeling and emotion rather than intellect in religion.[29] It would be possible to account for both classical Unitarian and Transcendentalist in some such manner as this, based mainly on individual differences. Yet another approach may be more rewarding, and this involves asking what the role requirements of the social and culture innovators were.

Social innovation requires planning and calculation. It requires making calculations of profit and loss, of manpower needs and capital expenditure. It requires organizing and directing man in the mass on an impersonal basis. Such a role has little use for instinct or the Holy Ghost. Predictions of behavior and results must possess high reliability. Inner states of mind or spirit are irrelevant. Conventional expectations, reinforced by religion as a means of socialization and social control, on the other hand, make such planning easier and predictions more dependable. Culture innovation, on the other hand, since it makes expectations of behavior more difficult to predict, may be seen as a threat. As Joseph Henry Allen remarked,"the conservative instinct, which knows and dreads the impending change, is in its own way far more clearly prophetic than that brave spirit, loyal to ideas, which goes blindfold, as it were, in the paths of Providence."[30] Conventional definitions of the situation not only make the social system innovator's task of rational prediction easier, but also provide him with a secure psychological base from which to initiate his innovations, and a protection against the anxieties from which he would otherwise suffer.

The culture system innovator is in exactly the opposite situation so far as the requirements of his role are concerned. Whereas the social system innovator works within a secure and conventional culture world and definition of the situation, it is precisely this world and definition which the culture system innovator wishes to change. Since all culture worlds are, as it were, based on faith, on premises which are accepted on authority, to change the culture world he must question its very premises. Yet he must find a base from which to do so. Obviously he cannot do so on the basis of the accepted conventions, nor will logic or reason help him, since they are neutral so far as premises are concerned, and are usually used in the service of conventional definitions and expectations. His choices are limited to two. He may call on some authority of the past, as did the Hebrew Prophets, or he may assert his own authority, based on intuition, revelation, special knowledge, or the Holy Spirit. "But *I* say unto you...!" Necessarily, as a culture system innovator, he must see things in terms of general principles and abstractions rather than in terms of specific predictable role expectations based on custom, power or self-interest. These abstract values will then be used in service of judgments of specific behaviors. Thus, on the grounds of justice, the social system may be found wanting and social system innovators condemned, although in fact the social system innovators may not have had any real alternative open to them which was more just or possible. There is a certain sense in which culture system innovators, at least in modern times, have been conservative, if not reactionary, for they have tended to judge the conditions resulting from urbanization and industrialization in terms of the primary group ideals expressed in the New Testament, or similar ideals generalized as humanity's. Thus they have inevitably become social critics and social reformers, smoothing the rough edges of innovative social behavior, and protecting the poor and little children. Yet in order to do so they have had to find an authoritative base other than the impersonal rationalism of the system they have been criticizing. In this sense the Transcendentalists of a century past were in much the same situation that Existentialists are in today, and there is, in fact, a direct connection between the two, despite the wide difference in mood.[31]

The culture system innovator has an additional problem.

Whereas to the average man, or average social system innovator, the culture world is an accepted reality sanctioning his behavior, to the culture system innovator that world is not unquestionably accepted. The culture system innovator's concern with ideas and intellectual developments places him in a situation where that conventional world is constantly being questioned, and where he cannot help but be aware of this. He is committed to the reality and importance of ideas in a way often psychologically quite different from the social system innovator. The Transcendentalists were the mediators of ~~all~~ many of the cultural innovations of their time. Not only were they responsible for introducing idealism in philosophy, but their interests encompassed politics, economics, art, theology, history, literature, music, and all the other disciplinary expressions of high culture. It was Parker, for instance, probably more than any other, who introduced radical German higher criticism of the Bible into New England. They were more aware than others, then, of the existence of other culture worlds (other world religions, for instance), and of the latest criticisms of their own. Those criticisms created doubt of the validity of the traditional New England culture world, including that of classical Unitarianism, the old authorities were overthrown, and so, in a time of transition, the only security to fall back upon was intuition and the Holy Spirit. Since cultural diffusion occurs at a very slow rate, over periods of more than a generation, the culture system innovations which concerned the Transcendentalists were of only limited concern and largely incomprehensible to the average man, even the well educated man in the conventional sense, and were of little interest to social system innovators. After all, social system innovators find "real" only those behaviors which are based on the conventional definition of the situation and culture world, because the people whose behaviors they must predict act in terms of conventional understanding, not the latest culture system innovations. The culture system innovator, on the other hand, seeing that old definitions of the situation cannot stand, seeks a basis and new culture world on which future behaviors will be predicated. Thus the culture world of the social system innovators and that of the culture system innovators are always out of phase, so to speak. It is no wonder that both classical Unitarians and Transcendentalists concerned themselves frequently with the conservative and the reformer, in an attempt to understand the split in what had formerly been a homogeneous culture. Not only do social and culture change proceed at different rates, but they change different realities.

The ironic thing is that the classical Unitarians have been stuck with the conservative label. They were conservative only in terms of culture. As the core of those who created urban industrial New England they were probably far more innovative, in the social system sense, and made far more lasting contributions to future social life, than the Transcendentalists. Furthermore,they tended to voice far greater confidence in the future than their critics, as well as willingness to commit themselves to it. Because history is usually written by those in sympathy with culture system innovators, who themselves are often only marginally involved in the social system, the social system innovators have been unfairly treated and their innovations minimized. In actual fact probably far more people have been affected by their actions, for good or ill, than have ever been effected, even indirectly, by Transcendentalism.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER X

[1] Hedge, 276.

[2] Stow Persons, *Free Religion, An American Faith* (New Haven, 1947), p. 13.

[3] Bancroft, *Sermon at Fifty Years*, 43.

[4] "The seceders generally held to Arminian or old fashioned Calvinistic opinions as they were then called, meaning opinions from which nearly all but the name of Calvinisim had died away." (Peabody, *Familiar Address*, 5).

[5] "What Is Unitarianism?" *The Bibliotheca Sacra*, XXXVIII, No. 149 (1881), pp. 25-47.

[6] *A Discourse Delivered to the First Parish in Hingham, September 8, 1869* (Hingham, 1873).

[7] *Come and See! What It is to be a Unitarian. A Discourse, Delivered in Burlington, Vermont, November 26, 1854* (Burlington, 1855), p. 13.

[8] *Diary of Amos Lawrence*, 316.

[9] Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power and Religion in a Rural Community* (Anchor; Garden City, N.Y., 1960), p. 244.

[10] Aaron Bancroft, *Sermons on Those Doctrines of the Gospel, and on Those Constituent Principles of the Church, which Christian Professors Have Made the Subject of Controversy* (Worcester, 1822), p. 428.

[11] May 30, 1834. See His *Diary*, 284.

[12] Bancroft, *Sermons*; O. W. B. Peabody, ed., *Sermons by the Late William B. O. Peabody, D.D. with a Memoir, by His Brother* (Boston, 1849); G. F. Simmons, *Six Sermons* (Boston, 1856); G. W. Briggs, *The Bow in the Cloud: Fifteen Discourses* (Boston, 1846); Joseph May, ed., *Samuel Longfellow: Essays and Sermons* (Cambridge, 1894).

[13] Peter L. Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies (Garden City, N.Y., 1961), p. 89.

[14] Berger, 103.

[15] Edward Everett, Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions (3 Vols.; Boston, 1859), p. 291ff.

[16] The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (Student's Edition; New York, 1958), p. 17. It is instructive to note the indications of the Protestant Ethic in the recommended religious education curriculum materials of the time. Thus, in a book used by adults: "All that gives bias to your passions and appetites, to your inclinations and thoughts, to your opinions of yourself, to your conduct toward others, your private or public employment of time, your business and gains, your recreation and pleasures, is to be judged of by this standard (surrender to the will of God), and condemned or approved accordingly" (Henry Ware, Jr., On the Formation of the Christian Character. Addressed to those who are seeking to lead a religious life, Vol. IV: The Works of Henry Ware, Jr., D.D. (4 Vols.; Boston, 1847), p. 294. Children were taught: "Q. What rewards are promised to the sincere Christian? A. The favor of God in this life, and immortal happiness in the next." Presumably "the favor of God" might be interpreted as wealth or success (Bancroft, New Catechism, 10).

[17] The Last Sermon by Dr. Aaron Bancroft, Jan. 27, 1839, First Unitarian Church, Worcester, Mass.," SPP, Box No. 2.

[18] Bancroft, Sermon at Fifty Years, 32.

[19] A Sermon to Young Men, delivered before the First Congregational Society in Fitchburg, Mass., Sunday, Feb. 22, 1835 (n.p., n.d.), and A Sermon Preached on the Morning of the Annual Fast, April 3, 1834 (n.p., n.d.).

[20] Boston Unitarianism, 262.

[21] Bellows, 8.

[22] Green, 358.

[23] Recollections, 250.

[24] Christian Register, March 20, 1841.

[25] Tilden, Autobiography, 69, 124. Timothy L. Smith was among the first of contemporary scholars to note certain trends in Unitarianism which he refers to as "Evangelical Unitarianism," in his study, Revivalism and Social Reform. In my own opinion there is another point of view from which his data might be interpreted. By the 1850's, for all intents and purposes, Calvinism, of the Edwardean species, was dead, and New England Protestantism was accommodating itself to urban middle class conditions. Unitarianism had already made the accommodation, and when the Congregational church began to do so, modifying the tone of its revival preaching, and appealing to the middle class, there were no longer either many doctrinal or sociological factors to separate them. Horace Bushnell was the key to the accommodation in so far as he symbolized Congregationalism coming to a point Unitarianism had occupied for many years.

On the other hand "Evangelical Unitarianism" was very dignified in its evangelism. It is significant that Huntington became an Episcopal, hardly an evangelically-oriented denomination. If it began formally to emphasize the Holy Spirit, it did so rather restrainedly.

In my opinion the Transcendentalists were "spiritually" much more sympathetic to revivalism and religious enthusiasm. They intellectualized the doctrine of the Holy Spirit much more than ordinary people and revivalists, but they were basically sympathetic to the feeling of inward religion which revivalism engendered, but which many upper middle class Unitarians could not help frowning upon, since it seemed to suggest to them a relaxing of the inner psychological discipline which they thought necessary to their way of life.

"Evangelical Unitarianism" of the kind Timothy Smith describes is, in my opinion, the result of accommodation of both New England Unitarianism and other New England Protestant denominations to social factors shared by both. The real Unitarian evangelicals were the Transcendentalists, who simply used a somewhat different language to describe their religious experience.

[26] Letter of October 22, 1849.

[27] "The Doctrine of the Spirit," in May, Samuel Longfellow, p. 148ff.

[28] Hedge, p. 293ff.

[29] Yoshio Fukuyama, "The Major Dimensions of Church Membership," as reported in David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1962), p. 419.

[30] Allen, Our Liberal Movement, 67.

[31] See, for instance, "Emerson Through Kierkegaard: Toward a Definition of Emerson's Theory of Communication", English Literary History, XXIV, No. 3, pp. 229-248.

PART IV

GESTALT

CHAPTER XI

RECKONING SHAPES OF TIME: FROM AN OLDER SHADOW OF THE PAST TO A NEWER SHADOW

Throughout this monograph I have been tracing the effect of changes in systems external to the religious social system on that system. I have been describing a process of adjustment in part based on maintenance needs. Changes in the relation between the political system and the religious system were decisive in the immediate sense. However, other changes, including the rise of the city, of industrial capitalism, and the growth of competing sects also played a part. The process of adjustment involved alterations in maintenance procedures, socialization and social control goals, and redefinition of the role of the system and its minister. It is also my opinion that material included in this study would support the hypothesis that the adjustment was not merely one related to maintenance of equilibrium, but was dynamic, and involved the redefinition and substitution of new goals requiring new maintenance conditions.

The traditional New England religious social system was the expression of men consciously seeking certain goals within their definitions of the situation. As a parish, the system's immediate goal was public worship presided over by a minister who would also meet the other needs which his congregation defined as religious. From the civil point of view, the expressly defined goals of public worship were socialization and social control. As a church, the system's immediate goal was also worship, together with provision for the ordinances of baptism and communion, and the watch which converted Christians maintained over one another as members of the body of Christ. The broader goal of the church was to provide aid and comfort to those seeking salvation within a culture world defined in supernatural, Judeo-Christian terms. Maintenance conditions of the parish were met through its connection with the political social system. Maintenance conditions of the church were met through God's grace (from the members' point of view), using such means as preaching, persuasion, and education (at least the scholar can agree on the means). This dual social system endured in law until the separation of church and state in 1834, and even after that most New England congregational-related denominations preserved at least the form of the dual system, distinguishing between church and society.

The most important role in the historic system had been that of the minister, who, as a civic functionary, was related to every inhabitant within the geographical limits of his parish. Because of the religious orientation of a great number of the inhabitants, and because the minister was the publicly chosen head of one of only two or three publicly sanctioned and staffed social systems in the community (the other two being the town and the militia), and because he was the only professional, full time head of any such community system, he possessed great influence and prestige, due to these sociological factors as well as to his religious expertise.

A variety of pressures from inside and outside the system caused its change. Of course changes in the religious culture world were important. Some of these, such as Stoddardism and even Arminianism, were gradual developments within the culture system itself and had social system implications, effecting, for instance, maintenance of membership. The growth of the New Divinity and its reaffirmation of the necessity of conversion is also a relevant example. At the same time alien religious professionals including Quakers, Anglicans, Baptists and Deist intellectuals exposed the local culture to new ideas and systems which had varying influences.

Quite apart from religious influences, however, other factors were important. The growth of population required territorial parishes to divide into precincts as early as 1700. Industrial capitalism precipitated rapid urban growth under which the non-centralized Congregational territorial parish system broke down. The increasing division of labor and differentiation of life experience probably contributed substantially to the fragmentation of the Congregational culture world and consequent growth of competing sects. The hegemony of the Congregationalist majority was broken when orthodox and Unitarian Congregationalists fell to fighting among themselves, and that, together with the constitutional requirement of religious freedom, and the inadequate adaptation of the Congregational parish system to the city, resulted in the separation of church and state. In the meantime, other publicly-enacted social systems had flourished in Massachusetts, especially the various forms of corporate enterprise. As they increasingly dominated community life, the religious system and its minister lost prestige and influence. Corporations also found that religious conflicts interfered with realization of their primary goals, and sought to neutralize them at least in so far as their own goal-realization was concerned. Massachusetts society needed a set of integrating values which would enhance secular goal realization. By making a man's religious convictions a private matter this was accomplished. This is the meaning of Berger's comment that "*The social irrelevance of the religious establishment is its functionality*." As long as religion sanctioned values such as honesty, the patient bearing of adversity, self-discipline and hard work, which were integrative of secular society, the special theological means were a matter of indifference. When, however, religion concerned itself with either goals or values which threatened the goals or integration of the secular world, then there was conflict. This conflict was both personal, i.e., psychological, and social.

These political, social and economic changes required changes in the religious social system. Since maintenance of the parish was no longer guaranteed by legal means, new means had to be developed. The system was forced to change from one in which religious activities were narrowly defined as public worship, administration of the ordinances and various other ministerial duties, to one in which a large variety of other activities were required to maintain the system. The ordinances and especially preaching were still important, but the committee system, including finance and membership, developed, as well as a formally institutionalized means of religious socialization, the Sunday school and Bible class. The latter was now needed in a religiously fragmented and heterogeneous society where such socialization could not take place through the informal processes formerly depended on in the family and small community. Probably because Unitarian Congregationalists still defined their situation in terms of New England's traditional religious social system, their adjustment to these new conditions was halting, painful and ineffective. They were in a disadvantageous position, as in the long run were the orthodox Congregationalists, when placed in competition with sects and denominations which from the beginning had organized on a voluntaristic basis. Unitarians labored under a special disadvantage, however, one which has been inadequately perceived heretofore. The values in Unitarian ideology such as tolerance of divergent theological views and religious freedom, which were especially meaningful in heterogeneous parishes required by law to support one minister, no longer retained their special appeal when church and state were separated. The illusion of Unitarian growth rested on the special circumstance of the establishment. Without the presence of this circumstance, with little appreciation of the maintenance needs of voluntary religious associations, and a theology which appealed only to a limited social class, the movement declined between 1834 and 1865. It suffered both from the aggressive Arminian evangelism of competing denominations and dissention within. In fact, even today, it bears the marks of these complex circumstances. It has never been able to fulfill the hopes of its founders. It has appealed to a class consisting of professionals, merchants, financiers, and manufacturers, on the one hand, and a small group of intellectuals interested in culture system innovation. This has consistently resulted in conflict, because the two groups choose to see or interpret nearly contradictory values in the movement. The former group values the rationality which they use in their occupations, and the freedom, which allows easy accommodation to secular society. The latter group values the freedom, which they interpret as freedom of intellectual search, which often results in culture system innovation, and the rationality, which they interpret as intellectual, rather than social rationality. The former group interprets the moral emphasis as sanction of conventional expectations, and the latter group sees the moral emphasis as an abstract commitment to prophetic values and primary group ideals. Thus the political conservatives and social reformers are constantly at each other's throats. I have sought to embody these conflicts in two sets of ideal types: the Pastor and the Prophet, and the social system innovator and the culture system innovator.

As is evident, I believe the distinction between society and culture is important, and aids in understanding the different circumstances of the social versus the culture system innovator. Social rationalism is quite different from culture rationalism, since for the former predictability of behavior based on conventional definitions of the situation is important, while for the latter integration of ideas from various disciplines and inductive or deductive validity is important. Culture rationalism is not necessarily related to specific behaviors. My whole distinction between society and culture is based on the difference between doing and thinking. Doing, at the group level, is usually based on learned, conventional understandings of the social world and involves a high coincidence of expectations. Culture certainly includes these conventional understandings, but also includes many new and novel understandings in which intellectuals and culture innovators have a special interest.

I suppose that the approach of this study, based on the concept of the social system, could be called a structuralist approach. It is based on the idea that most behavior is conventional or customary, and ordinarily highly predictable. In regard to any particular area of life it is possible to study the behavior of people as it is related to it, and how, consciously or unconsciously, it fits together so that desired goals are realized. Thus people work together to build a church, call a minister, pay his salary, attend public worship, partake of the ordinances, and so on. Each bit of behavior may be called a structure of behavior, and it fits together into what is more or less a system. We have been observing how one set of conventional behaviors gradually was changed, and another set grew.

The study of religious social systems poses a special problem. While the system has observable immediate goals, such as the provision of public worship, ultimately its goal is salvation. In virtually all religions this is either entirely a subjective state (as in Buddhism), or a supernatural state (as in traditional Christianity). Neither Nirvana nor Heaven is empirically observable. Religion is not by any means the only area of life where this is true, but more than other areas, it is one in which the subject's culture world and definition of the situation are important. The vital factors are those he believes are true. His behavior is oriented to his beliefs, even though he does not have much feedback, except from others who share the same beliefs. His salvation-oriented behavior may and usually does have manifest or latent temporal consequences, but to the subject these are secondary.

The social definition of religion, and therefore of salvation may change, however. The goals of the system may be reinterpreted, and new means developed for their realization. Such goal reinterpretation is usually the role of the culture innovator. The goal of the classical Unitarians was salvation in terms of immortality. Immortality meant to them some kind of personal survival after death. It meant much the same thing to the Transcendentalists. But by 1870, for the intellectual, this had become a difficult doctrine. "To the believers in the doctrine of evolution, faith in personal immortality becomes exceedingly dim and difficult." Goals then began to be redefined. "Salvation....is by....faith incorporating the individual with society through sympathy with the principles by virtue of which society exists, and works making that incorporation compact and solid through some positive contribution of service rendered."[1]

At the same time that such goals are being reinterpreted, however, other changes in the religious social system may be taking place which are unrelated to the culture system in any obvious way, but rather are related to the maintenance problems of the system. I have dealt with the rise of membership and finance committees, the new necessity of the minister to sell his parish to prospective members, the Sunday school and adult religious education movements. These developments, while they may be rationalized, seem to be primarily related to trial and error attempts of the system to maintain itself. In doing so it may appeal to conscious or unconscious human needs which are not conventionally defined as religious in that society. If it is successful, then it may find that a kind of unwitting goal displacement has occurred. Traditional goals are still formally affirmed, and often serve as a badge of group identity, but they do not constitute the primary social motive for membership or participation.

American denominationalism emerged during a time in our history when the population was rapidly becoming larger and more heterogeneous. It was also a time of increasing mobility. The rise of the industrial city created a situation of new opportunity in a social context characterized by impersonalization and increasing division of labor. The primary group ideals of the small community, and agrarian idealism of Jefferson, was inappropriate in the new situation. The relatively stable colonial society offered few useful precedents, and Americans saw in European industrial society an undesirable prospect. In such a context voluntary religious associations with pressing maintenance needs readily adjusted themselves to the needs of the American people for group identity, status, and social participation in an urban context.[2] The adjustment was gradual, made through small changes in the social systems of the various denominations, and resulted in a split in the American religious mind between the formally religious goals which the systems were supposed to attain, and the real temporal needs they were meeting. Since these temporal needs were in many cases contrary to religious goals and ideals, explicit recognition of the contradiction would have caused a personal and institutional crisis of conflict and guilt. Therefore the precedent for masked and overt religious patterns was established, and those who attempted to bring the conflict to the surface were condemned or ignored. Explicit goal redefinition in realistic terms took place very slowly, if at all.

In this set of historical circumstances Unitarian parishes sought to realize traditional goals, but increasingly came to represent a reference group for native New Englanders of high social class. While its neglect of sociability tended to discourage possible joiners, and therefore protect the members' identity, it also resulted in the frustration of its own members' needs for social participation, and on this ground the movement was criticized. On the other hand, by refusing to adapt to the needs of the masses for a simple faith, it retained a certain intellectual integrity, and remained a comfortable home for culture innovators.

I have now finished my survey. I hope that the study of the parish as a social system, the integration of historical materials and sociological concepts, and the critical examination of the adequacy of these concepts makes some useful contribution to the understanding of religion in American culture. These processes are so complex that I have often found it personally helpful to recall an observation of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, which others may find it worthwhile to remember. "In the darkness of midnight all men see alike; but if you let in the light, they will see differently; and no concern, and no authority will make those see alike, to whom God has given organs, which introduce the light in different proportions, and whose situation is such, as to have objects presented to them in different positions."

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER XI

[1] O. B. Frothingham, The Religion of Humanity (New York, 1873), pp. 259, 135-136.

[2] For much of this interpretation the author is consciously or unconsciously indebted to Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew, An Essay in American Religious Sociology. (Anchor; Garden City, N.J., 1960), and Sidney E. Mead, The Lively Experiment, The Shaping of Christianity in America (New York, 1963).

APPENDIX I

Legal documents relating to the establishment of religion in Massachusetts, 1780-1834.

Article III, Massachusetts Consitution of 1780

As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of GOD, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality: Therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require, the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of GOD, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

And the people of this commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.

Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said moneys are raised.

And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law: and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall every be established by law.

Chapter 10, Statutes of 1786

1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the bounds and limits of precincts and parishes, as they have been formerly settled, be, and hereby are, confirmed and established, until they shall be otherwise ordered by the General Court. And the inhabitants of each respective parish and precinct, who shall pay in one tax, exclusive of the poll or polls, a sum equal

to two-thirds of a single poll tax, shall, in the month of March or April annually, meet and assemble together at such time and place, in the same parish or precinct, as they shall be notified to attend by the collector thereof, or such other person as the assessors thereof shall appoint to notify the same; and the said inhabitants shall then and there, by a major vote, by ballot, or such other method as they may determine convenient, choose a town clerk, who shall be under oath truly to record all votes passed in the same, or any other regular meeting of the corporation, during the time he shall remain in office; two or more able and judicious persons for assessors, a treasurer, collector and other usual parish or precinct officers. And no person in commission for any office, civil or military, church officer, member of the council, senate, or house of representatives, for the time being, nor any one who has served in the office of constable or collector of any town, district, parish, or precinct within the term of seven years, shall be obliged to serve in the office of collector. And every person chosen to the office of collector, and not exempted as aforesaid, if he be able in person to execute the same, and of the same denomination of Christians as those of the major part of the parish or precinct who shall choose him, who shall refuse to take the oath to that office prescribed, and to serve therein, shall forfeit and pay to the use of the same precinct or parish, the sum of three pounds. And the person chosen collector shall, if present, forthwith declare his acceptance or refusal, and in case of non-acceptance, the parish or precinct shall proceed to a new choice, and so from time to time until one shall accept and be sworn; and any person so chosen, who shall be present, and shall not declare his acceptance of the office of collector, or who shall neglect, after being summoned by a constable or any other person whom the clerk or assessors may appoint to that purpose before the clerk, to take the oaths of office for the space of seven days next after being notified or summoned, as aforesaid (which oath as well as the oath of all other parish or precinct officers the clerk for the time being is hereby authorized and empowered to administer) and shall neglect to pay the fine aforesaid, may be compelled to pay the same by the same mode of process, in the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, that fines may by law be recovered of persons refusing to serve in the office of constable.

2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That assessors of precincts or parishes shall be empowered to manage their prudentials unless a committee shall specially be appointed for that purpose, which any precinct or parish is empowered to choose if they think proper; and the said committee, where any such shall be chosen, and the assessors, where no such committee shall be appointed, shall have like power and authority in all respects for calling parish or precinct meetings as selectmen by law have for calling town meetings; and in case of a vacancy in any parish or precinct office chosen in March or April, the same vacancy may be filled at a parish or precinct meeting, regularly notified at any other season of the year. And the moderator of a parish or precinct meeting shall have the like power and

authority in governing the meeting as the like officer by law has in a town meeting; and persons misbehaving in parish or precinct meetings shall be subjected to similar punishments to the use of the parish or precinct, as persons misbehaving in town meetings; and the penalties to be recovered in the same manner. And the moderator, in case no justice of the peace is present, may also administer, in open meeting, the oath of office to the clerk thereof. And when ten or more of the qualified voters of any precinct or parish shall signify, in writing, their desire to have any matter or thing inserted in a warrant for calling a meeting, it shall be the duty of the assessors to insert the same in the next warrant they shall issue for that purpose; and no matter or thing shall be acted upon in such a manner as to have any legal operation whatever unless the subject matter thereof shall be inserted in the warrant for calling the meeting. And in case the assessors shall unreasonably refuse to call a meeting, or a parish or precinct shall have no assessors within it to call one, or not a major part of the assessors or committee which any parish may agree upon to be chosen, any justice of the peace, for the same county, upon the application of ten or more of the voters in the parish or precinct, may call a meeting, in the same manner as a justice of the peace is by law authorized to call a town meeting.

3. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the qualified voters aforesaid at any parish or precinct, at the annual meeting in March or April, or at any other parish or precinct meeting regularly notified, at least seven days before

the holding thereof, may grant and vote such sum or sums of money as they shall judge necessary for the settlement, maintenance, and support of ministers of public teachers of religion; for the building or repairing of houses of public worship, and all other necessary parish or precinct charges, to be assessed on the polls and property within the same as by law provided. And the inhabitants of each respective parish and precinct are hereby declared to be a body corporate, and as such may commence and prosecute any action or suit to final judgment and execution, in any court proper to hear and determine the same, and may also defend any suit or action that may be brought against them; for which purposes they may constitute one or more agents or attorneys, in the same manner as towns may constitute and appoint agents; and the evidence of their appointment may be ascertained in the same manner.

4. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That where any town or district consisting of but one parish only has been, or hereafter shall be, divided or made into two or more precincts or parishes, any engagements or contracts entered into by such town or district, before such division, of a precinct or parochial nature solely, shall not by such division, be considered as released, cancelled, or extinguished; but the same shall remain in full force, and be obligatory on the inhabitants residing, and the estates lying, within the limits of the first parish or precinct of the same town or district, who shall be deemed and taken as successors to the town or district, so far as relates to precinct or parochial agreements and contracts, to every intent and

purpose whatever; provided always, that all debts of a precinct or parochial nature, that are or shall be in fact due and owing from any town or district, before a division thereof into precincts or parishes, for services or other matters actually done and performed, for the general benefit of the persons who shall after be included in each of the precincts or parishes, shall in no respect be altered or devolved upon the first parish or precinct, as the successors of the said town or district in its precinct or parochial capacity, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

5. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all such towns or districts where one or more parishes or precincts shall be regularly set off from such towns or districts, the remaining part of such town or district is hereby deemed declared, and constituted an entire, perfect, and distinct parish or precinct, and shall be considered as the principal or first parish or precinct. (This act passed June 28, 1786).

Chapter 87, Statues of 1799

An ACT providing for the public Worship of God, and other Purposes therein mentioned, and for repealing the Laws heretofore made relating to this subject.

Sect. 1. BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the respective churches, connected and associated in public worship with the several towns, parishes, precincts, districts, and other bodies politic, being religious societies, established according to law, within this Commonwealth, shall, at all times, have use, exercise and enjoy, all their accustomed privileges and liberties, respecting divine worship, church order and discipline, not repugnant to the Constitution of this Commonwealth, and shall be encouraged in the peaceable and regular enjoyment and practice thereof.

Sect. 2. Be it further enacted, That every corporate town, parish, precinct, district, and other body politic or religious society aforesaid, is hereby required to be constantly provided with a public protestant teacher of piety, religion and morality; and in default of being so provided and supplied, for the term of three months in any six months, such town, parish, precinct, district, and other body politic or religious society, which shall, in the judgment of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the same county, be adjudged of sufficient ability to be so provided, shall pay a fine, for a first offence, of a sum not exceeding sixty dollars, nor less than thirty, and for each and every like offence after the first, a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars, nor less than sixty dollars, together with costs of prosecution; such fine to be recovered by indictment in the Court of General Sessions of the Peace in the county where such delinquency may happen, and levied on the inhabitants composing such town, parish, precinct, district, and other body politic or religious society so delinquent, in the same manner as other fines are levied on the inhabitants of towns. And every such fine shall be disposed of, by order of said court, to the support of the public worship of God in such religious society in the same county, as, in the opinion of said court, shall stand most in need thereof.

Sect. 3. Be it further enacted, That any contract made by such town, parish, precinct, district, and other body politic or religious society, with any such public teacher aforesaid, as may be by them respectively chosen for their teacher or religious instructor, shall have the same force, and be as binding on such corporation or religious society, as any other lawful contract; and all courts of competent jurisdiction, shall have power to sustain suits brought to enforce their performance.

And in order that all the citizens of this Commonwealth may, according to the wise and reasonable provision of the Constitution, be alike required to contribute to the support of their public teachers aforesaid:

Sect. 4. Be it further enacted, That every town, parish, precinct, district, and other body politic and religious society aforesaid, is hereby authorized to cause all sums of money by them respectively voted to be raised, from time to time, in any legal meeting duly assembled and holden for that purpose, for the settlement or support of any public teacher or teachers as aforesaid, or the building or repairing any house or houses of public worship, to be assessed on all the ratable polls and property within each particular corporation or religious society aforesaid (the polls and estates of Quakers excepted) in the same proportion as state or town taxes are by law assessed. And such sums of money, when so assessed and collected, shall be paid into the treasury of such town, if composed of one parish or society; if otherwise, to the treasurer of the parish, precinct, district, or other body politic or religious society aforesaid, to be by him paid out as directed and ordered by the selectmen of such town or district committee (where chosen) or otherwise by the assessors of such parish, precinct, and other body politic or religious society, for the purposes for which such money was raised: Provided however, That when any person taxed in any such tax or assessment voted to be raised as aforsaid, for the purposes aforesaid, being at the time of voting or raising any such tax or assessment of a different sect or denomination from that of the corporation, body politic or religious society by which said tax was so assessed, shall request that the tax set against him or her, in the assessment made for the purposes aforesaid, may be applied to the support of the public teacher of his own religious sect or denomination; such person, procuring a certificate signed by the public teacher on whose instruction he usually attends, and by two other persons of the society of which he is a member (having been specially chosen a committee to sign said certificate) in substance as follows, viz.

> WE, the subscribers, A. B. public teacher of a society of the religious sect or denomination called in the town, district, precinct or parish of and C.D.E.F. committee of said society, do hereby certify that doth belong to said society, and that he or she (as the case may be) frequently and usually, when able, attends with us in our stated meetings for reli-

gious worship.

Which certificate having been produced to the selectmen, committee or assessors (as the case may require) of the town, district, parish, precinct, or other body politic or religious society by whom he or she has been taxed as aforesaid, it shall be sufficient to require them respectively to order and direct the treasurer of such corporation or religious society, to pay over the amount of such taxes, so applied for, to the use of the public teacher of the religious sect or denomination to which such applicant belongs; and such public teacher shall thereby be entitled to receive the same.

Sect. 5. Be it further enacted, That the assessors of each parish or religious society within this Commonwealth may omit, in the taxes voted to be assessed on the polls and estates within such parish or society, such persons, living within the limits of the same, as belong to and usually attend public worship in a religious society of a different denomination. Provided, That nothing in this Act contained shall take from any church or religious society in the town of Boston, or any other town, the right and liberty to support the public worship of God, by a tax on pews, or other established mode.

Sect. 6. Be it further enacted, That all laws providing for the settlement of ministers, and the support of the public worship of God, made prior to the adoption of the present Constitution of this Commonwealth be and hereby are repealed, except so far as relate to the recovery of all fines and penalties accruing under the same, and the fulfilment of all contracts made under and by virtue thereof. (March 4, 1800.)

Chapter 6, Statutes of 1811

An Act respecting Public Worship and Religious Freedom.

WHEREAS it is provided by the Constitution of this Commonwealth, "that every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law:" Therefore,

Sect. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of same, That all monies paid by any citizen of this Commonwealth to the support of public worship, or of public teachers of religion, shall, if such citizen require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own be applied to religious sect or denomination, provided there by any on whose instructions he usually attends, as well where such teacher or teachers is or are the teacher or teachers of an unincorporated as of a corporate religious society; and it shall be sufficient to entitle any such teacher or teachers of a corporate or unincorporate religious society to receive the same monies of the town, district, parish, or religious corporation, which shall assess, collect, or receive the same, that he be ordained and established according to the forms and usages of his own religious sect and denomination, although his parochial charge or duties may extend over other religious societies, according to such forms and usages.

Sect. 2. Be it further enacted, That whenever any person shall become a member of any religious society, corporate or unincorporate, within this Commonwealth, such membership shall be certified by a committee of such society, chosen for this purpose, and filed with the clerk of the town where he dwells, such person shall forever afterwards be exempted from taxation for the support of public worship and public teachers of religion in every other religious corporation whatsoever, so long as he shall continue such membership. And the certificate of such committee may be as follows.--We certify that A.B. of the town of , is a member of the religious society in the town of , called .
Dated this day of A.D. 18 .

} Committee.

Sect. 3. Be it further enacted, That in case any donation, gift, or grant shall hereafter be made to any unincorporate religious society, such society shall have full power to manage, improve, and use the same, according to the terms and conditions on which the same may be made; to elect suitable trustees, agents, or officers therefor, and to prosecute and sue for any right, which may vest in such society, in consequence of such donation, gift, or grant.

Sect. 4. Be it further enacted, That all ministers ordained agreeably to the usages of the sect or denomination to which they severally belong, whether over corporate or unincorporate society or societies, within this Commonwealth, shall have the same exemptions from taxation, as are given to stated ordained ministers of the gospel, in the town, district, parish, or plantation where they are settled, subject, however, to the same restrictions and penalties.

Sect. 5. Be it further enacted, That all parts of acts inconsistent with this Act be, and the same are hereby repealed. (June 18, 1811.)

Chapter 106, Statues of 1823

An ACT in addition to an Act, entitled "An Act respecting Public Worship and Religious Freedom."

Sect. 1. BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled and by the authority of the same, That every parish, precinct, and religious society in this Commonwealth, may organize itself agreeably to the Act, entitled "An Act regulating Parishes and Precincts, and the officers thereof," and the several acts in addition thereto. And any justice of the peace, within the county wherein any parish, precinct, or religious society may be, which is not organized, agreeably to said Acts, is hereby authorized, upon application therefor, by any ten or more of the legal voters of such parish, precinct, or religious society, to issue a warrant for calling the first meeting thereof, directed to some suitable member of said parish, precinct, or religious society, requiring him to notify and warn the members thereof, qualified by law to vote in town affairs, to meet at some time and place as shall be appointed in such warrant, to choose all such officers, and transact all such business as parishes are by law authorized to choose and transact in the months of March and April, annually. And in all parish meetings the qualification of the voters shall be the same as are now required by law to vote in town affairs.

Sect. 2. Be it further enacted, That any person may separate from one religious society and join another, either of the same, or of a different denomination, by filing with the clerk of the society left, a certificate of the fact, under the hand of the clerk of the society, which such person elects to join; but such person shall remain liable to pay all such taxes as may have been actually granted or assessed against him previous to such separation; and any person who may come to dwell within any town in this Commonwealth, shall be deemed and taken to be a member of the oldest religious society in said town, unless such personal shall, previous to the first day of May following, file with the clerk of such religious society, a certificate, that he or she has joined him or herself to, and is a member of some other religious society within the Commonwealth, under the hand of the clerk thereof.

Sect. 3. Be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the assessors of every parish, precinct or religious society in this Commonwealth, in assessing or levying taxes for the support of public worship, and all charges incident thereto, to assess all the property, both real and personal, (not exempted by law from taxation) of all the members thereof, where-ever the same may be situate within the Commonwealth; and no citizen of this Commonwealth, being a member of any religious society in this Commonwealth shall be assessed or liable to pay any tax for the support of public worship, or other parochial charges, to any parish, precinct, or religious society whatever other than to that of which he is a member.

Chapter 183, Statutes of 1834

An Act relating to Parishes and Religious Freedom.

Sec. 1. BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the several parishes and religious societies within this Commonwealth, whether corporate or unincorporate, are hereby confirmed unto them, except so far as the same may be limited or modified by the provisions of this act, or the eleventh article of the amendments to the constitution. And the respective churches connected and associated in public worship with such parishes and religious societies, shall at all times have, use, exercise and enjoy, all their accustomed privileges, and liberties, respecting divine worship, church order and discipline, and shall be encouraged in the peaceable and regular enjoyment and practice thereof.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That all persons now belonging to any parish or religious society shall be taken and held to be members thereof, until they shall file with the clerk of such parish or society, a written notice declaring the dissolution of their membership. And no person shall hereafter become or be made a member of any parish or religious society, so as to be liable to be taxed therein for the support of public worship, or for other parish charges, without his express consent for that purpose first had and obtained.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That the several parishes and religious societies, at any legal meeting for that purpose, duly notified and warned, may make, ordain, and establish by-laws, prescribing the manner in which persons may become members thereof; and such other by-laws as they may deem expedient: provided, that such by-laws be not repugnant to the laws and constitution of the Commonwealth: and provided, also, that any person, who at the time of the passage of this act, shall be an inhabitant of any territorial parish, and not a member thereof, but who may formerly have been a member of the same, shall at any time within six months from the passage of this act, have a right to re-unite himself to such parish, by leaving with the clerk thereof a written notice of his intentions so to do. And any inhabitant of such territorial parish, upon arriving at full age, shall have a right to become a member of the same, by filing notice of his intentions as aforesaid, within six months from the time such inhabitant shall arrive at full age. And no person shall have a right to vote in the affairs of any territorial parish, until he shall have been a member thereof for the term of six months.

Sec. 4. Be it further enacted, That the several parishes and incorporated religious societies are hereby authorized to cause all sums of money, by them legally voted to be raised, for the support of public worship, or for other lawful parish charges, to be assessed on the polls and estates of all the members thereof, in the same manner and proportion as state, county, or town taxes, are or shall be by law assessed: provided, that nothing in this act contained, shall be construed to enlarge or diminish the powers of taxation, enjoyed by any parish or religious society by virtue of any special law, or act of incorporation; and that no manufacturing or other corporation shall be liable to taxation for any parochial purposes, unless such corporation shall consent to be so taxed by a vote passed at a legal meeting thereof, called for that purpose.

Sec. 5. Be it further enacted, That in case any donation, gift or grant, shall hereafter be made to any unincorporated religious society, such society shall have like power to manage, use, and improve the same, according to the terms and conditions on which the same may be made, as incorporated societies now have, or may hereafter have by law; to elect suitable trustees, agents or officers therefor, and to prosecute and sue, for any right which may vest in such society, in consequence of such donation, gift or grant.

Sec. 6. Be it further enacted, That any parish or religious society, may organize itself agreeably to the statute of seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, chapter ten, entitled "an act regulating parishes and precincts, and the officers thereof," and the several acts in addition thereto. And any justice of the peace, within the county in which any parish or religious society may be, which is not organized, agreeably to said acts, is hereby authorized, upon application in writing therefor, by any ten or more of the legal voters thereof, to issue his warrant for calling the first meeting of the same. And such justice shall insert in his warrant the objects of such meeting, and shall direct the same to some one of such applicants, requiring him to notify and warn the legal voters of such parish or religious society, to meet at such time and place as shall be appointed in such warrant; and upon due return thereof, such justice shall preside at such meeting, for the choice and qualification of a clerk, who shall enter, at large, upon the records of such parish or religious society, the proceedings had in the organization thereof. And such parish or religious society may thereupon proceed to choose a moderator and all such officers, and transact all such business, as parishes are by law authorized to choose and transact, in the months of March and April, annually: provided, that the subject matter thereof shall be inserted in said warrant.

Sec. 7. Be it further enacted, That any parish or religious society, organized agreeably to the provisions herein contained, shall have all the powers and privileges, and be subject to all the duties, liabilities and requirements which incorporated parishes not territorial now have, or are subjected to, or may hereafter have or be subjected to by the general laws of this Commonwealth, with power to have, hold, manage and improve, so much estate, real or personal, as may be necessary for the appropriate objects of such organization and no more: provided, that all the powers derived from any such organization, may at any time be revoked by the legislature. And at all legal meetings of parishes and religious socieites, the qualifications of voters shall be the same as are now required by law for voters in town affairs.

Sec. 8. Be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the assessors of parishes and religious societies, in assessing or levying taxes for the support of public worship, and all charges incident thereto, to assess or levy the same upon all the property, both real and personal, (not exempted by law from taxation) of all the members thereof, wherever the same may be situated within the Commonwealth, and no citizen shall be assessed or liable to pay any tax for the support of public worship or other parish charges, to any parish or religious society whatever, other than to that of which he is a member.

Sec. 9. Be it further enacted, That the sixth section of "an act providing for the due observation of the Lord's day, and repealing the several laws heretofore made for that purpose," passed the eighth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two:--also, "an act providing for the public worship of God, and other purposes therein mentioned, and for repealing the laws heretofore made relating to this subject," passed on the fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred: also, all laws providing for the settlement of ministers, and the support of the public worship of God, made prior to the adoption of the constitution of this Commonwealth; also, "an act respecting public worship and religious freedom," passed the eighteenth day of June, in the year of our

Lord one thousand eight hundred and eleven: also, "an act in addition to an act entitled an act respecting public worship and religious freedom," passed on the sixteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, are hereby repealed, saving and excepting any rights or liabilities that may hereto fore have arisen or accrued by virtue thereof. (April 1, 1834.)

APPENDIX II

Occupational information on parishioners included in membership samples

WORCESTER **ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP IN 1787**

Name	Occupation	Category
Allen, Joseph	Clerk of Courts	3
Allen, Samuel	Treasurer of Worcester County	3
Bangs, Edward	Lawyer	3
Barnard, John	Farmer	1
Bigelow, David	Farmer	1
Andrews, Benjamin	"esquire"	3
Bigelow, Timothy	Blacksmith	5
Blake, Ellis Gray	?	7
Brazer, Samuel	Merchant	4
Bridge, Samuel	Barber-Wig Maker	3
Butman, Benjamin	Merchant	4
Chadwick, David	"gentleman"	7
Chandler, Charles	Merchant	4
Chandler, Clark	Merchant	4
Chandler, Samuel	Merchant-Manufacturer-Farmer	4
Chandler, Winthrop	Artist	3
Chapin, Eli	Farmer	1
Clap, Daniel	Register of Deeds	3
Flagg, Benjamin	Farmer	1
Flagg, Samuel	Merchant	4
Fullerton, Samuel	?	7
Gates, William	Farmer	1
Goodwin, John	Blacksmith	5
Goulding, Daniel	Farmer	1
Goulding, Ignatius	Carpenter	5
Goulding, Palmer	Tanner-Shoemaker	5
Green, Benjamin	Doctor	3
Healy, Jedediah	Cabinet Maker	6
Heard, Nathan	Jail-Keeper	3
Heywood, Phineas	Farmer	1
How, Joel	Tavern Keeper	3
Jennison, William	Farmer	1
Johnson, Micah	Farmer	1
Johnson, William	Farmer	1
Lincoln, Abraham	Druggist	3
McCarty, Thadeus	Doctor	3
Lincoln, Levi	Lawyer	3

Mann, Elias	"gentleman"	7
Mower, Ephraim	Hotel-Keeper	3
Paine, Anthony	?	7
Paine, John	"gentleman"	7
Paine, Nathaniel	Lawyer-Judge	3
Paine, Timothy	Clerk of Courts	3
Peirce, John	Farmer	1
Peirce, Josiah	"gentleman"	7
Peirce, Oliver	Farmer	1
Rice, Samuel	Farmer	1
Smith, John	Farmer	1
Snow, Jacob	Farmer	1
Stanton, John	Merchant	4
Stowell, Abel	Clock-Maker	6
Stowell, Cornelius	Weaver	5
Stowell, Peter	Weaver, Factory Owner	6
Stowell, Thomas	Farmer	1
Stowers, John	"gentleman"	7
Thomas, Isaiah	Publisher	6
Torry, Joseph	"gentleman"	7
Treadwell, William	professional soldier	3
Tufts, Andrew	Farmer-Tanner	1
Walker, John	Farmer-Blacksmith	1
Warden, Samuel	"hairdresser"	3
Willard, Nahum	Doctor	3
Bigelow, David, Jr.	Farmer	1

	TOTAL NUMBER	63	% of Total
By Category	1	19	30
	2	0	-
	3	19	30
	4	7	11
	5	5	7
	6	4	5
	7	9	14

WORCESTER

MEMBERSHIP SAMPLE IN 1866

(Random Sample, 50 out of 103)

Name	Occupation	Category
Allen, Charles	Lawyer, Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court	3
Allen, Charles, Jr.	Clerk	3
Baker, John L.	Deputy Sheriff	3
Ball, Phineas	Civil Engineer	3
Barnard, Lewis	Merchant	4
Berry, Scotto	Cashier, Bank	4

Bigelow, Walter, Jr.	Farmer	1
Bond, Joseph E.	Farmer	1
Boyden, Elbridge	Architect	3
Brown, William	Tailor	5
Burbank, George G.	Druggist	3
Barker, John M.	Wood Dealer	4
Bynner, Edwin	Master of Transportation	4
Champion, Reuben	Merchant	4
Coes, Loring	Wrench Manufacturer	6
Conklin, Henry W.	Machinist Company	5
Derby, George A.	Currier	6
Emerson, Samuel J.	Manufacturer of Ferills	6
Farwell, John	Superintendant, City Farm	3
Gill, George W.	Iron Manufacturer	6
Green, Samuel S.	Bank Teller	4
Hammond, John	Farmer	1
Hammond, Timothy W.	Treasurer, R.R. Co.	4
Hammond, Lewis W.	Bank Cashier	4
Haven, Samuel F.	Librarian	3
Hawes, Russell L.	Manufacturer	6
Heald, Jonas, Jr.	Woolen Manufacturer	6
Heald, Simpson C.	R.R. Conductor	4
Kettell, James S.	Hatter	6
Kettell, John P.	Hatter-Manufacturer	6
Keyes, D.D.	Foreman, Lumber Company	4
Keyes, I.N.	Lumber Dealer and Manufacturer	4
Kinnicutt, T. H.	Judge of Probate	3
Otis, John C.	Bank Teller	4
Paine, F. W.	Treasurer, Insurance Company	4
Phillips, Ivers	U.S. Assessor and R.R. President	4-3
Rice, Elbridge	Coal Dealer	4
Robinson, Thaddeus	Machinist	5
Salisbury, Stephen, Jr.	Financier	4
Scott, David	Druggist	3
Sibley, Charles	Druggist	3
Snow, W. N.	Dentist	3
Stowell, Fred T.	Farmer	1
Taft, George C.	Manufacturer	6
Walker, Appleton	Hardware Store	4
Wellington, Joseph H.	Merchant	4
Wheeler, Charles A.	Machinist	5
Wheeler, George W.	City Treasurer	3
Whittemore, Charles	Shoe Store	4
Williams, Lemuel	?	7

TOTAL NUMBER		50	% of Total
By Category	1	4	8
	2	0	-
	3	13	26
	4	19	38
	5	4	8
	6	9	18
	7	1	2

SPRINGFIELD MEMBERSHIP SAMPLE IN 1819

(Random Sample, 40 out of 114)

Name	Occupation	Category
Allen, Edmund	Master Armorer	6
Austin, Daniel, Jr.	Armorer	6
Buckland, Epaphras	Joiner	5
Bangs, Joseph	Farmer	1
Bates, Thomas	Tavern-Keeper	3
Butler, William H.	Surveyor	3
Chapin, Daniel	Farmer	1
Charter, Lemuel	Farmer	1
Cooley, Ariel	"gentleman"	7
Cooley, Jacob	Farmer	1
Cooley, Seneca	Farmer	1
Cutler, Lyman	?	7
Dale, Samuel	Armorer	6
Dart, Wait	Armorer	6
Day, Benjamin	Cashier, Bank President	4
Dwight, Henry	Merchant	4
Dwight, Jonathan, Jr.	Merchant, Financier	4
Ely, Judy	Farmer, Trader	1,4
Field, Daniel	Armorer	6
Goodrich, Asahel	Farmer	1
Hartung, Daniel, Jr.	?	7
Howard, Bezaleel	Retired Clergyman	3
Howard, John	Cashier, Bank President	4
Jenks, Amos	?	7
Kingsbury, Samuel	Doctor	3
Lathrop, Wells	Merchant	4
Leonard, Daniel	?	7
Marsh, Apollos	Cemetery Superintendent	3
Mede, Ira	Farmer	1
Jenks, Benjamin	Farmer	1
Melvin, James	Farmer	1
Orne, Samuel	Lawyer	3
Paulk, Noah	Farmer	1
Peck, Austin	Carpenter	5
Rice, Amos	Armorer	6

Russell, Charles	Farmer, Armorer	1,6
Slafter, Zeb W.	Farmer	1
Snow, Anson	Farmer	1
Stephenson, Joseph	?	7
Strickland, Jonathan	Farmer	1

TOTAL NUMBER		40	% of Total
By Category	1	15	37.5
	2	0	-
	3	6	15.0
	4	5	12.5
	5	2	5.0
	6	6	15.0
	7	6	15.0

SPRINGFIELD MEMBERSHIP SAMPLE IN 1886

(Random Sample, 40 out of 214)

Name	Occupation	Category
Babcock, W. S.	Commercial Traveler	4
Bangs, Samuel Allen	Clerk, Life Insurance Co.	4
Bigelow, Samuel	Bigelow and Co.	4
H. C. Bixby	Printer	6
W. G. Brinsmade	Terra Cotta Co.	6
Bullock, Orvis W.	Manufacturer Watchmakers Tools	6
Carter, Frank J.	Clothier	4
Case, H. N.	Bank President	4
Clark, Charles H.	Lieutenant, U.S. Army	3
Clark, David	Doctor	3
Cook, J. H.	Marble Dealer	4
Copeland, A.M.	Lawyer	3
Corning, Ephraim	?	7
Daniels, Ira (picked twice)	Farm Laborer	2
Denison, Charles H.	Manufacturer Water Filters	6
Denison, George A.	President, Chicopee Box Co.	6
Douglass, D. DeForrest	Manufacturer Artificial Limbs	6
Foot, Homer	Hardware Manufacturer	6
Gallup, E.	General Superintendant B & A R.R.	4
Goodrich, John	Machinist	5
Gordon, S.J.	Lawyer	3
Gray, A. O.	?	7
Gray, W. H.	H. & J. Brewster Co.	6
Hamilton, O. M.	Treasurer, Chicopee Box Co.	6
Kendall, Hiram O.	Clerk, Shoe Store	4
Lombard, Justin	Farmer	1
Montague, M.D.	Commercial Traveler	4

Paine, Charles	Merchant Tailor	4
Rayner, J. B.	Real Estate	4
Sackett, Justin	Contractor and Landscape Co.	6
Steger, E. W.	Treasurer, Springfield Foundry	6
Smith, Enos	emp. Hinsdale, Smith Co.	6
Smith, W. L.	?	7
Sawyer, W. H.	emp. Fisk Manufacturing Co.	6
Turnball, James A.	emp. U.S.A.	3
Watson, E. C.	General Ticket Agent CRRR	4
Bancroft, George	Historian	3
Bowles, Dwight H.	College Student	7
Homans, Thomas S.	?	7

TOTAL NUMBER		40	% of Total
By Category	1	1	2.5
	2	2	5.0
	3	6	15.0
	4	12	30.0
	5	1	2.5
	6	13	32.5
	7	5	12.5

FALL RIVER MEMBERSHIP SAMPLE IN 1832
(Random Sample, 16 out of 65)

Name	Occupation	Category
Borden, John	Farmer	1
Chaloner, Thomas D.	?	7
Cotton, John S.	Merchant	4
Dalton, Walker W.	Lawyer	3
Earl, Benjamin	Printer	6
Eddy, Benjamin	Butcher	6
Gooding, Joseph	Lawyer	3
Hawkins, W. H.	Merchant	4
Land, James	?	7
Lesure, Rufus H.	?	7
Paine, Daniel	Merchant	4
Pitman, Allen	?	7
Snow, Caleb	Merchant	4
Thaxter, Samuel L.	Merchant	4
Trasker, Thomas	Manufacturer	6
West, Samuel	Farmer	1

TOTAL NUMBER		16	% of Total
By Category	1	2	12.50
	2	0	-
	3	2	12.50
	4	5	31.25
	5	0	-
	6	3	18.75
	7	4	25.00

FALL RIVER ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP IN 1858

Name	Occupation	Category
Adams, Robert	Merchant	4
Alden, C.	Lawyer	3
Almy, Charles	Merchant	4
Almy, E. B.	Machinist	5
Arnold, L.	Merchant	4
Baker, H.	Mariner	4
Ballard, A.	Agent, Iron Works	4
Battelle, H.	Lawyer	3
Bennett, William	Druggist	3
Blake, _____	?	7
Borden, Israel	Mill Superintendent	6
Borden, Leander	Bank Cashier	4
Borden, Lefavor	Doctor	3
Borden, N.B.	President R. R.	4
Borden, Simeon II	Lawyer	3
Brailey, ____	Dresser Tender	5
Brown, Robert C.	Bookkeeper, Manufacturing Co.	6
Brown, Samuel	Clerk	4
Bowcock, J.	Overseer	6
Burrell, ______	Saddle Maker	6
Burt, I. L. D.	?	7
Bush, C. H.	Brass Founder	6
Carpenter, W.	Cabinet Maker	6
Chace, A.	Manufacturer	6
Chace, Ed	?	7
Davenport, ______	Engraver	6
Davis, James	Teacher	3
Dean, ______	?	7
Dimond, Henry	R.R. Conductor	4
Dougles, Charles	Housewright	6
Eddy, F.	Teamster	4
Ellenwood, ______	Tinsmith	6
Forbes, Wm. D.	Ass't Bank Treasurer	4
Gaul, Hugh	?	7
Gibbs, Robert	Merchant	4
Gifford, P.	Merchant	4

Goodrum, _____	Engraver	6
Grimshaw, _____	?	7
Grouard, Juno	Painter	5
Gunn, H. N.	Store Clerk	4
Hardman, _____	?	7
Hathaway, G. H.	Assessor	3
Hathaway, Juno B.	Glacer	4
Hawkins, William H.	emp. N.B. Borden Co.	6
Hodges, Juno	City Clerk	3
Hooper, F.	Doctor	3
Hunt, _____	?	7
Kirby, Charles	Livery Stable	4
Kirby, James	?	7
Lapham, L.	Lawyer	3
Lindsey, J.	Bank Treasurer	4
Luther, E.	Provision Dealer	4
Lyon, H.	Engraver	6
Marring, _____	?	7
Martin, Juno	Clerk, Manufacturing Co.	6
Mason, C.	?	7
Mathewson, _____	Dresser Tender	6
Miniken, _____	?	7
Munday, William	?	7
Newall, A. L.	Upholsterer	6
Paine, William	Linen Co. Treasurer	6
Penn, _____	Engineer	3
Petty, B.	Grocer	4
Pickering, James	Mariner	4
Pickering, T. G.	Carpenter	4
Potter, Thomas T.	R.R. Clerk	4
Reed, Henry	Painter	5
Royce, _____	?	7
Seward, Charles	Carpenter	5
Shepherd, _____	Clerk	4
Sherman, E.	Dresser Tender	5
Soule, R.	Manufacturer	6
Standing, _____	Machine Printer	6
Thurston, A. G.	Machinist	5
Tower, _____	?	7
Vickery, _____	?	7
Walker, _____	?	7
Warner, James L.	Treasurer, Steamboat Co.	4
Warren, H.	Machinist	5
Weaver, _____	?	7
West, Samuel	?	7
White, D.	Merchant	4
Williams, _____	?	7
Wilmouth, _____	?	7
Wilson, _____	?	7
Winchester, James P.	Harness Maker	6
Winchester, Juno P.	Harness Maker	6

Winter, William	Overseer	6
Young, _____	?	7

TOTAL NUMBER		89	% of Total
By Category	1	0	-
	2	0	-
	3	11	12.4
	4	24	27.0
	5	9	10.1
	6	22	24.7
	7	23	25.8

FITCHBURG **ALL PEW OWNERS IN 1837**

Name	Occupation	Category
Abercrombi, Otis	Doctor	3
Beckwith, Alvah A.	Farmer	1
Boutelle, Thomas R.	Doctor	3
Bruce, Abel	?	7
Caldwell, John	Tanner	6
Caldwell, Thomas C.	?	7
Carleton, William	Farmer	1
Davis, Addison	?	7
Fairbanks, Jabez	Farmer	1
Farwell, Dexter	Farmer	1
Farwell, Levi	Farmer	1
[illegible], Jabez	?	7
Flower, Aaron	Farmer	1
Goodrich, Alonzo P.	Farmer	1
Goodrich, Joshua	?	7
Green, Asher	Farmer	1
Hartwell, Abijay	Farmer	1
Houghton, Samuel	Farmer	1
Jaquith, Jacob	Farmer	1
Joslin, John L.	Farmer	1
Kimball, Ephraim	Farmer	1
Marshall, Abel	?	7
Marshall, George	?	7
Marshall, John B.	Farmer	1
Mayro, Jed	Farmer	1
McIntire, Flint	?	7
Newton, Horace	"gentleman"	7
Newton, Martin	"gentleman"	7
Newton, William D.	?	7
Ordway, Nathan	Lawyer	3
Phillips, Ivers	Banker	4
Phelps, Samuel	Farmer	1
Piper, Porter	Farmer	1

Marshall, Chedolaomer	Farmer	1
Proctor, Benjamin	Machinist	5
Proctor, Sullivan G.	Machinist	5
Shelden, Elbridge G.	Farmer	1
Shelden, Josiah	Farmer	1
Shelden, Samuel	?	7
Snow, Benjamin	?	7
Sprague, Everett	?	7
Stevens, Roy C.	?	7
Torrey, Ebenezer	Bank President	4
Thurston, Cyrus	Farmer	1
Tuttle, Daniel	Farmer	1
Vinton, Timothy	Farmer	1
Webber, Job P.	Farmer	1
Wheeler, Aaron	Farmer	1
Wheeler, Loring	?	7
Wheeler, John H.	Farmer	1
Wherton, Danforth	Farmer	1
Whitcomb, John	Farmer	1
Whitney, Benjamin	Farmer	1
Willis, Samuel	?	7
Wilson, Timothy J.	Farmer	1
Wood, Nathan	Lawyer	3
Works, Daniel	Farmer	1
Younglove, Tyler	Farmer	1

TOTAL NUMBER		58	% of Total
By Category	1	32	55
	2	0	-
	3	4	7
	4	2	3.5
	5	2	3.5
	6	1	2
	7	17	29

WALTHAM — PEW OWNERS SAMPLE IN 1839

Name	Occupation	Category
Adams, Willard	Trader	4
Brown, Charles	?	7
Chase, John E.	Machinist	5
Clark, Jonas	Trader	4
Cushing, Bridget	?	7
Emerson, Samuel P.	Machinist	5
Fiske, Theodore	Farmer	1
Goodnow, William	?	7
Harrington, Charles	Farmer	1
Hobbs, Ebenezer, Jr.	Manufacturer	6

Lane, Benjamin	Manufacturer	6
Maynard, Nathaniel	Trader	4
Moore, Arad	?	7
Pike, John	Machinist	5
Porter, William	Hatter	6
Ripley, Smauel	Clergyman	3
Sanderson, Nathan	Blacksmith	5
Webster, Jesse	Laborer	2
Weeks, James	?	7

TOTAL NUMBER		19	% of Total
By Category	1	2	
	2	1	
	3	1	
	4	3	
	5	4	
	6	3	
	7	5	

WORCESTER - CHURCH OF THE UNITY   ENTIRE FOUNDING MEMBERSHIP IN 1846

Name	Occupation	Category
Allen, James	Clerk	4
Beach, Lucius	Merchant	4
Blake, H. G. O.	Teacher	3
Bowen, George	Merchant	4
Bowen, E. H.	Merchant	4
Brown, A. J.	Merchant	4
Butterfield, T. W.	Publisher	6
Chickering, C. C.	Merchant	4
Drew, Thomas, Jr.	Publisher	6
Emery, Horace L.	Accountant	4
Foster, Calvin	Merchant	4
Greenleaf, F. W.	R.R. Agent	4
Gale, Fred W.	Lawyer	3
Hardon, B. L.	Merchant	4
Heywood, Daniel	Merchant	4
Hill, J. Henry	Lawyer	3
Hobbs, George	Manufacturer	6
Howe, Edwin	Merchant	4
Leggate, William	Harness Maker	6
Knowlton, Levi	Hospital Attendant	3
Lincoln, D. Waldo	Nursery	4
Lincoln, William S.	?	7
Morse, M. H.	Carpenter	5
Mason, John C.	?	7
Merrick, F. T.	Bank President	4

Merrick, Pliny	Judge	3
Merrick, T. A.	Actioneer	3
Messinger, David S.	Merchant	4
Paine, Gardner	Farmer	1
Rice, Dexter	?	7
Rice, George T.	Manufacturer	6
Richardson, George W.	Lawyer	3
Sargent, Joseph	Doctor	3
Shepherd, F. M.	Merchant	4
Thomas, Benjamin F.	Judge	3
Tolman, Albert	Carriage Maker	6
Tower, Horatio N.	Carpenter	5
Upham, H. G.	Cord Manufacturer	6
Walker, Benjamin	?	7
Wilder, Joel	Mason	5
Whiting, W. C.	Carriage Maker	6

	TOTAL NUMBER	41	% of Total
By Category	1	1	2.5
	2	0	-
	3	9	22
	4	16	39
	5	3	7.5
	6	8	19.5
	7	4	9.5

APPENDIX III

A Pilot Content Analysis of Ministerial Role Expectations

In an article in 1963 in the American Quarterly I suggested that content analysis might be a useful technique to use in American Studies. My suggestion was not in any way original, for many others have used the technique in historical studies. Nevertheless I decided to discover whether it would be a useful tool with which to analyze ministerial role expectations as shown in ordination and installation sermons.

No attempt was made to take a random sample of ordination sermons during the period. Instead I sought ordination sermons given by the ministers included in this study, or by ministers of parishes included in the study. What I wished to discover was whether there were changes in expectations over time. Twenty sermons were analyzed, ten delivered before 1811, and ten delivered after 1833. I assumed that the separation of church and state might be a convenient event to separate periods, but that I should leave a period of years for transition. Therefore sermons given between 1811, when the Religious Freedom Act was passed, and 1833, when church and state were separated, were not included.

The sermons in the study included:

Bancroft, Aaron, The Comparative Advantages of the Ministerial Profession, Delineated in a Discourse Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Nathan Parker, over the South Church and Parish (Portsmouth, N.H., S. Sewall, 1808).

Bancroft, Aaron D.D., A Sermon Delivered in Worcester, January 31, 1836, By Aaron Bancroft, D.D. at the Termination of Fifty Years of His Ministry (Worcester, Clarendon Harris, 1836).

Breck, Robert, *The Character of the Good Minister of Jesus Christ delineated in a Sermon, preached at the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. David Parsons, To the Pastoral Office over the Church of Christ in Amherst, On the Second Day of October, 1782* (Springfield, Babcock & Haswell, 1783).

Briggs, George W., *The Conditions of Ministerial Power: An Address delivered before the Graduating Class in the Theological School at Meadville, Penn., Wednesday Evening, June 29, 1859* (Boston, Walker, Wise & Co., 1859).

Briggs, George W., *The Living Ministry: Its Preparation and Its Work. An Address Delivered Before the Graduating Class in the Theological School at Cambridge, Sunday Evening, July 15, 1855* (Cambridge, John Bartlett, 1855).

Briggs, George W., *The Unchanging Christian Message. A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of Rev. Alfred Porter Putnam, as Minister of the Mt. Pleasant Church in Roxbury, December 19, 1855* (Boston, Crosby, Nichols & Co., 1856).

Clarke, James Freeman, *The Well-Instructed Scribe, or, Reform and Conservatism. A Sermon Preached at the Installation of Rev. George F. Simmons, and Rev. Samuel Ripley, as Pastor and Associate Pastor over the Union Congregational Society in Waltham, Mass. October 27, 1841* (Boston, Benjamin H. Greene, 1841).

Cooper, William, *The Work of Ministers Represented Under the Figure of Sowers. In a Sermon Preached at Springfield, January 26, 1736. At the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Robert Breck to the Pastoral Office in the First Church there* (Boston, F. Draper, 1736).

Cushing, Jacob, *A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Jacob Biglow, to the Pastoral Care of the West Church in Sudbury. November 11th, 1772* (Boston, T. and J. Fleet, 1772).

Farley, Frederick A., *A Sermon, Preached at the Ordination of the Rev. George W. Briggs, as Minister of the Unitarian Society Fall River, Mass., September 24, 1834* (Fall River, Samuel Thaxter, 1835).

Gray, Ellis, *The Fidelity of Ministers to Themselves, and to the Flock of GOD, considered and enforced. A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Thaddeus Maccarty to the Pastoral Office over the Church of Christ in Kingston (in the County of Plimouth) November 3, 1742* (Boston, Rogers for M. Dennis, 1742).

Hilliard, Timothy, *A Sermon Delivered April 27th, 1785, at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. Bezalell Howard...* (Springfield, Stebbins & Russell, n.d.)

McCauley, Clay, *The Work of a Unitarian Christian Church: How It Shall Be Done. Inaugural Sermon to the First Parish in Waltham, January 2, 1870*. (Waltham, n.p., 1870).

Payson, Phillips, *A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. John Payson, to the Pastoral Care of the Church of Christ in Fitchburg, January 27, 1768* (Boston, Richard Draper, 1768).

Peabody, Wm. B. O., D.D., *A Sermon, Preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Oliver W. B. Peabody, as Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Burlington, August 14th, 1845* (Burlington, University Press, 1846).

Ripley, Ezra, *Fidelity in Christian Ministers. A Sermon, Delivered, November 22, 1809, at the Ordination of Rev. Samuel Ripley to the Care of the Church and Congregation in Waltham, and Published by Their Request* (Boston, John Eliot Jr., 1809).

Lynn, Caleb Stetson, *The Kingdom of God. A Sermon: Preached at the Ordination of John Pierpont, Jr. as Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Lynn, October 11, 1843* (Washingtonian Press, 1843).

Whitman, Bernard, *A Discourse on Christian Union, Delivered at the Installation of Rev. Adin Ballou, as Pastor of the First Church and Society in Mendon, May 3, 1832* (Boston, E. M. Stone, 1833).

Each sermon was analyzed, using the paragraph as the unit of analysis. Thus, for instance, if the role of minister as "shepherd" was mentioned in a paragraph one or more times, that category was checked once. The category was checked again if "shepherd" was mentioned in another paragraph.

The categories used in the analysis were as follows:

ORDINATION SERMON CONTENT ANALYSIS CODE SHEET

The Role of the Minister

a. preacher
b. personal example
c. scholar and teacher
d. personally saved
e. comforter
f. counselor
g. reformer or prophet
h. enforce private morality and discipline
i. enforce public morality
j. enforce orthodox belief
k. prayer
l. administer sacraments
m. shepherd
n. civic influence to leader
o. tolerant and open minded
p. persuade not order
q. not to meddle in secular affairs
r. minister human being
s. concerned with individuals morals
t. concerned with social problems
u. to save others, inspire, regenerate

The Role of the Congregation

a. attend Sunday service
b. attend communion
c. become church members
d. financially support minister
e. accept teachings of minister, be orthodox
f. think for themselves
g. seek grace
h. witness to their salvation (or seek it)
i. cooperate with one another
j. accept rebuke of minister to behavior
k. study religion (Bible, etc.)
l. live moral lives
m. reform social abuses

Attitude of the Minister Towards Man and Society

a. sinful
b. virtuous
c. progressing
d. declining (lost, unregenerate)
e. approves change

f. against change
g. people always same

IV. Source of Ultimate Authority

a. congregation (church) final authority
b. minister highest authority

V. Tone of the Sermon

a. apologetic and placating
b. defensive
c. friendly
d. ingratiating
e. authoritarian and compulsive
f. voluntaristic
g. scolding and argumentative
h. dispassionate

The general results are listed in the following tables.

CATEGORY I

	Before 1811	After 1833		Before 1811	After 1833
a.	25	13	k.	11	0
b.	17	6	l.	3	0
c.	18	8	m.	13	0
d.	14	7	n.	1	0
e.	8	1	o.	6	2
f.	0	1	p.	4	0
g.	0	5	q.	0	0
h.	4	0	r.	3	1
i.	3	1	s.	6	13
j.	8	1	t.	0	6
			u.	15	9

CATEGORY II

a.	2	0	g.	2	0
b.	0	1	h.	2	0
c.	0	0	i.	9	8
d.	5	0	j.	1	0
e.	5	0	k.	0	6
f.	1	11	l.	5	10
			m.	0	2

CATEGORY III

	Before 1811	After 1833		Before 1811	After 1833
a.	4	1	e.	0	5
b.	0	0	f.	0	0
c.	0	9	g.	0	6
d.	1	0			

CATEGORY IV

	Before 1811	After 1833
a.	4	5
b.	1	0

CATEGORY V

a.	0	1
b.	2	0
c.	0	2
d.	0	0
e.	0	0
f.	0	2
g.	0	1
h.	2	2

A glance at the figures in the tables above shows that while in many of the categories there were no differences, or the differences were very small, in some categories the differences were considerable. In category a, for instance, minister as preacher, there appears to have been more emphasis on that role expectation before 1811. On the other hand, while before 1811 there is not one reference to the minister as reformer or prophet, there are some references to the minister in such a role after 1833. In Category II, while only one reference was found where a minister advised the congregation to think for themselves, eleven such references were found after 1833. These differences were summarized in the text. Needless to say, both because of the nature and the size of the sample, there could be perfectly legitimate questions as to its reliability. The method does, however, appear to be potentially useful.

APPENDIX IV

The Average Length of Pastorates Compared

HARVARD, CLASS OF 1700, WHO BECAME MINISTERS

		Average per Man
John Whiting	(Concord, 1711-1737)	26
Jeremiah Wise	(So. Berwick, Me., 1703-1755)	52
Robert Breck	(Marlboro, 1704-1731)	27
David Deming	(Cromwell, Conn., 1703-1711, Needham, 1712-1714, Medway, 1714-1722, Lyme, Conn., 1723-1730, No. Lyme, 1736-1745)	6
Samuel Hunt	(New Bedford, 1708-1730)	22
John Barnard	(Marblehead, 1715-1770)	55
John Prentice	(Lancaster, 1705-1746)	41

Average for all = 32-5/7

HARVARD, CLASS OF 1750, WHO BECAME MINISTERS

Elizur Holyoke	(Boxford, 1759-1793)	34
William Symnes	(Andover, 1757-1807)	50
Henry True	(Hampstead, N.H., 1752-1782)	30
Elisha Fish	(Upton, 1750-1795)	45
Elijah Packard	(Plymouth, 1753-1757)	4
John Ellis	(Franklin, Conn., 1753-1782, Rehoboth 1785-1796)	20

Average for all = 30-1/2

HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL - CLASS OF 1851

		Average per Man
Ayer, Adams, A.B.	(1851-53, 1855-59) (Died in Montreal 1882)	3
Cudworth, Warren Handel, A.B.	(1851-61 ?, 1881-83) (H F III 78)	6
Howard, Thomas Dwight, A.B.	(1852-62, 1862-66, 1866-68, 1868,69, 1870-74, 1880-1901, 1901-10)	7
Lowe, Charles, A.M.	(1852-53, 1855-57, 1859-62) (AUA Sect. Editor)	2
Stebbins, Horatio, A.B.	(1851-55, 1855-64, 1864-99)	16

Average for all = 6-4/5

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Sources

Church Records.

1. Fall River. The records of the Unitarian Society of Fall River are in the Union Savings Bank, 20 South Main Street, Fall River, Massachusetts. They comprise a somewhat miscellaneous collection of materials. Included are: the statement of association of the society, dated 1832, with twenty-five signatures; the list of subscribers to the stock of the society; miscellaneous pew deeds and letters; notes of the committee delegated in 1859 to tear down and rebuild the church; a notebook, entitled "Covenant of the Communicants of the Unitarian Society, Fall River, Mass."; a facsimile of a petition to the General Court, January 29, 1832; a notebook, "Pastoral Records of the Unitarian Church and Society in Fall River, Mass., 1840," which contains a list of the membership in 1858 in the handwriting of the Reverend Josiah Waite; a record book, "Records, A., Unitarian Society, Fall River (January 28, 1839-March 9, 1889)". This latter volume contains the official records of society meetings, the by-laws, and information on new members.

2. Fitchburg. The records are divided between the Fitchburg Historical Society and the First Parish, Unitarian, where they may be found in several boxes in the vault. At First Parish are a membership book with records of new members, 1843-1881; "Sunday School Society Journal," started in 1856; "Record Book of Pew Deeds, 1851-1875," a scrapbook, entitled "Records of First Church, Fitchburg, Mass.", which is mainly clippings from the period 1860-1880; a notebook containing the treasurer's reports from 1814-1849; a record book of pew deeds, 1837-1852; several published sermons and books relating to Fitchburg; and a chest of miscellaneous papers, including letters, pew deeds, withdrawal notices and the like, extending over the entire nineteenth century. At the Fitchburg Historical Society are: "Records of the 'Congregational Church' of Fitchburg, 1830-1813;" "Fitchburg, first parish Book, and contains the records of said Parish,"1805-1849; the parish valuation tax books, 1804-1814; "Parish Records, Bk. 2 (1850-1878)" and other miscellaneous records of the Sunday school.

3. Lowell. While the records exist, I was unable to examine them. South Congregational Society (Unitarian) united with High Street Congregational Church in 1923. Unfortunately, I was unable to arrange looking at the records with the present clerk, apparently because he was skeptical about what possible relation there could be between those records and a study of urbanization and industrialization.

4. Springfield. Records of Church of the Unity also exist, but again, due to the circumstance of the church just moving into a new building, and the uncertainty of the location of the records, they were unavailable. In this case I was fortunate to have the assistance of Mrs. Niles W. Goward, church historian, who is writing a history of the church, and who made some of her own material available to me.

5. Waltham. The First Parish has preserved its records, and they are found in various safes in the church. These records include: "Church Records of the Second Religious Society in Waltham;" "Waltham Church Records--1809-1841;" certificates of pew deeds, Independent Congregational Society, 1839; "Parish Records, First Parish, Waltham, 1821-1840;" "Parish Records, Independent Congregational Society of Waltham, 1838-1902;" "Record Book-South Congregational Society-March 26, 1838--March 1839."

6. Worcester. The records of Second Parish, Worcester, and of Unity Church, Worcester, are found at the American Antiquarian Society. There are sixteen boxes of them, almost all catalogued by year. The records for this parish are more detailed and extensive than for any included in this study. Furthermore, the American Antiquarian Society possesses at least two full books of Aaron Bancroft's manuscript sermons, most of them written in the pen of an old man, and delivered during the period 1827-1838. On each sermon is a notation of the dates and places delivered. These notations give the scholar some sense of the informal network of liberal contacts through pulpit exchanges in Worcester county. Anyone interested in using these records should consult the typed catalogue at the American Antiquarian Society, "Guide to Records and History of the First Unitarian Church. Second Parish in the Town of Worcester," by Mrs. Hadley Spear, dated 1950. Among those which I have found most useful were: "Membership Books and Records of the Second Church in Worcester from December 1785 to March 1850. Baptisms 1785-1850;" "Records of thd 2nd Parish in the Town of Worcester, Vol. 1, March 1789-August 1821;" "2nd Parish Records, Vol. 2, April 1822-May 1846;" "Second Parish Records, Vol. 3, March 1847-January 1889;" "The Last Sermon by Dr. Aaron Bancroft, January 27, 1839, First Unitarian Church, Worcester, Mass."; "The Last Sermon by Dr. Alonzo Hill, October 1, 1865, First Unitarian Church, Worcester, Mass."; "Minute Book of those persons who have associated for the purpose of forming another religious Society in Worcester, March 1, 1785-March 15, 1786;" "Contributions 1829-1874;" In addition I

used a wide variety of miscellaneous documents including tax lists, meeting warrants, withdrawal notices and the like, found in the chronological files for the respective year. The footnotes make specific references to these locations. Certain other materials found in the manuscript library of American Antiquarian Society were also utilized. Among them were: documents found in the box, "Worcester Churches." Especially, "Subscribers Names to the Rock of the Baptist Meeting House in Worcester, Erected in 1836-1837;" Another document headed, "The following persons have joined the Calvinist Society..." signed by Benjamin Chapin; a notebook, "Washington Benevolent Society of Worcester County-Records 1812-1813," which is useful for tracing the political preferences of early Worcester residents. In a box entitled "Worcester Papers" there are some very useful lists of early tax rebates, but most important, a complete assessors list for Worcester for 1798. This list gives a good indication of the wealth of citizens of the town.

Library Files.

1. Historical Library, Unitarian Universalist Association. This library possesses a complete set of files on every parish in Massachusetts which is, or ever was, Unitarian. The files vary drastically in completeness. Some contain almost nothing. Others contain local histories, newspaper accounts, and manuscript materials relevant to the parish. Besides consulting the files for specific systems in this study, I examined every file for parishes in Massachusetts. A useful project for the Unitarian Historical Society would be the systematic development of these files, and the establishment of a central depository for church records.

Correspondence.

When I first started this study, I devoutly hoped to find letters from both ministers and laymen expressing their views of religion, industrialism and urbanization explicitly. No doubt this hope was naive, and it was disappointed. Nevertheless, I did not give up easily, and I have therefore searched in a wide variety of places for relevant correspondence from all the thirty, plus, ministers of parishes included in this study, as well as from a wide variety of laymen more or less prominent at the time, and members of one or another of the parishes. The letters I found, unfortunately, while sometimes of use to the intellectual historian, are of little use to the sociologist. At the Houghton Library I examined letters from Aaron Bancroft, Samuel Ripley, John Pierpont, Andrew Bigelow, George F. Simmons, T. W. Higginson, Levi Lincoln, Jr., J. F. W. Ware, and Simeon Borden. None of these proved of use to me, except one from Aaron Bancroft to the Reverend Charles Lowell in Boston, May 5, 1817, commenting on the cotton business in Worcester county.

At the Massachusetts Historical Society I examined letters from George Bancroft to many people, including his father, and except for one letter mentioning the size of his father's estate, found nothing useful. The MHS possesses many letters from Edward Everett Hale to his large circle of friends and acquaintances, but for the most part, the letters dated during the Worcester period of his ministry contain nothing useful. The two letters from W. B. O. Peabody to William Ware, referred to in the text, are owned by the MHS. Other letters examined at the MHS included ones written by W. P. Tilden, Francis Tiffany, Calvin Lincoln, Levi Lincoln, Sr., Levi Lincoln, Jr., Caleb Stetson, Andrew Bigelow, John Pierpont, Edward Bangs, Pliny Merrick, Charles Allen, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, H. Battelle, P. W. Leland, and Warren Burton, among others. While there is material of use to the political historian in some of these letters, I found in them little material of use to me.

At the American Antiquarian Society are found large masses of correspondence from persons connected with Second Parish, especially the Salisbury family and John Davis. Again nothing was found useful for this study, except a few official letters in the Second Parish Papers from the ministers to the parish.

Because it seemed to me that Aaron Bancroft has been rather neglected by Unitarian historians, I made a special effort to locate material relevant to his life. In addition to the material already referred to at the American Antiquarian Society, Houghton Library, and the Massachusetts Historical Society, I searched the papers of his son at the Library of Congress and the New York City Public Library. I was specially interested in finding whether his son, the historian George Bancroft, had written the memoir of his father requested by Mr. Stephen Salibury in a letter to him March 19, 1856 (MHS). I found nothing. Finally I did locate several letters from Aaron Bancroft to his son in the George Bancroft Papers, Collection of Regional History and University Archives, Cornell University. These give the historian some notion of the relation between the father and son, Aaron Bancroft's reaction to some of the political events of his time, and his relation to members of Second Parish.

The specific parishes included in this study included among their members very prominent Massachusetts families, including the Bordens of Fall River, Salisburys of Worcester, and Dwights of Springfield. A careful search of the correspondence of all such families has found nothing especially useful for purposes of this study. One family which was not followed up for lack of resources was the Bowles family of Springfield. A personal contact with this family might be useful.

I conclude that, given the time spent and distance travelled, the rewards from examination of correspondence are minimal.

Selected Published Sources

Bibliography.

Of course I began this study with a bibliographic search. Having first looked at Henry Putney Beers, *Bibliographies in American History: Guide to Materials for Research*(New York, 1942), I then turned to Jeremiah Colburn, *Bibliography of the local history of Massachusetts*(Boston, 1871), and Charles A. Flagg, *A Guide to Massachusetts Local History*(Salem, 1907). Both were useful for the location of materials on the specific towns included in the study. I also examined a variety of other materials including Adelaide R. Hasse, *Index of economic material in documents of the states of the United States: Massachusetts, 1789-1904*(Washington, D. C., 1908), and the Historical Records Survey, Massachusetts. *Guide to depositories of manuscript collections in Mass.*(Boston, 1939). I never was able to locate Mass. Commissioner of Public Records, "Churches, parishes, precincts, and religious societies, past and present in Mass. Historical data"(in his 10th report, 1898), although I attempted to do so at the Massachusetts State Library.

In the general area of church history, besides consulting the foot-notes and bibliographies in a number of standard works, I also used Peter G. Mode, *Source Book and Bibliographic Guide for American Church History*(Menasha, Wisc., 1921). While it was published after I began my work, I would recommend for the general student of American religion, Nelson R. Burr, *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*(2 vols. Princeton, 1961). For the limitations of Burr's excellent volumes as far as Unitarianism and Universalism are concerned, consult my 1962 review in the *Unitarian Universalist Leader*.

Unfortunately there is no adequate bibliography of sources on American Unitarianism. In addition to Burr, it is worth consulting Frederick L. Weis, *et al*., "Early Records of the Seventeenth Century Churches in Massachusetts which became Unitarian," *The Proceedings of the Unitarian Historical Society*, VII, Part II(1941), pp. 11-22 and Holley M. Shepherd, "Unitariana," *The Proceedings of the Unitarian Historical Society*, XII, Part I (1958), pp. 27-46. Of course there are a wide number of relevant references to be found in the standard bibliographies of the more prominent participants in the New England Renaissance, such as Emerson and Parker. Useful bibliographic material on special aspects of Massachusetts history, including church and state, politics and social reform may be found in the volumes on these topics referred to in the footnotes.

Other bibliographies which proved useful were: *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Worcester Historical Society*(Boston 1941), Charles H. Lincoln, "The Manuscript Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," *Bibliographical Society of America, Papers*, IV(1909), C. U. Nichols, *Bibliography of Worcester* (Worcester, 1899), and Mrs. Hadley Spear, "Guide to Records and History of the First Unitarian Church, Second Parish in the

Town of Worcester"(typed, 1950). This guide may be used at the American Antiquarian Society. Sometimes useful was R. W. G. Vail, "A check List of New England Election Sermons," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society(New Series: Worcester, 1936) XVL.

Periodicals.

I made no attempt to read all of the mass of nineteenth century magazines published by and for Unitarians. I scanned volumes of The Christian Examiner for material of interest. It is more useful to the intellectual historian. I did read carefully every issue of the Christian Register, the more or less official denominational magazine of the American Unitarian Association, published weekly, from 1820-1870. This is a necessary and valuable source for anyone interested in the history of the denomination. The complete files are available at the Historical Library, Unitarian Universalist Association. While I did not use it for this study to any extent, The North American Review is an important source for any student of this period of American Unitarian intellectual history.

Census Reports.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the material found in the U. S. Census. Of special importance were: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Massachusetts (Washington, D.C., 1908), U. S. Census Office, Report on the Social Statistics of Cities(Washington, D. C., 1886), as well as the complete census reports, especially for 1850, 1860 and 1870, which contain useful data for Massachusetts on occupational classes and religion. I was also fortunate to obtain the original census schedules for the town of Worcester on microfilm. These contained the names, addresses and estimates of real and personal wealth for every resident of Worcester in 1870. The appropriate citation is: U. S. Census Office, 9th Census. 1870. Report of 1870. Massachusetts counties of Middlesex, Hampden, Worcester and Suffolk. The availability of these materials makes the extension and specification of work done in this monograph possible.

Directories.

Frequently useful has been Loring's Massachusetts Register or Record Book of Valuable Information... published in Boston yearly, beginning about 1800, and throughout the nineteenth century. It contains listings of public servants, ministers and churches, and board members of charitable and private corporations and organizations. Other directories and guides containing information of use were: Nahum Capen, ed., The Massachusetts State Record, New England Register, and Year Book of General Information(Boston, 1851) and other years, Jesse Chickering, A Statistical View of the Population of Massachusetts, from 1765-1840(Boston, 1846), Henry Howland, The Worcester Almanac, Directory, and Business Advertiser, FOR 1846(Worcester, 1846), Henry J. Howland, The Worcester Directory for 1866(Worcester, 1866), Massachusetts Register or Record Book of Valuable Information for the year 1847(Boston, 1847), Springfield Directory(Springfield, 1871-1886), George Adams, The Fall River Directory(Fall River, 1855), Daniel I. Rupp, He Pasa Ekklesia: An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States (Philadelphia, 1844), and John Hayward, The Book of Religions (Concord, N. H., 1843).

Unitarian History, Biography and Autobiography.

Here I shall make no attempt to write an exhaustive bibliography of nineteenth century American Unitarianism, but list only those sources which were of special use in this dissertation. In addition to the Christian Register, already listed, the American Unitarian Association, Annual Report(Boston, 1825-1870), as well as The Quarterly Journal of the American Unitarian Association(Boston, 1853-1870)were useful.Other volumes useful for biographical references are: William Ware, ed; Unitarian Biography, 2 Vols. (Boston, 1850), Samuel A. Eliot, ed, Heralds of a Liberal Faith 4 vols.; (Boston, 1910-1952), and of course, William B. Sprague, ed., Annals of the American Pulpit(New York, 1857-1869), Vol. 8, "Unitarian Congregational."

The most commonly used history of American Unitarianism is George W. Cooke, Unitarianism in America: A History of its Origin and Development(Boston, 1802). The Various works by Earl Morse Wilbur are more useful for the history of European Unitarian movements. Necessary background of eighteenth century Unitarianism may be gained from Conrad Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America(Boston, 1955). Because I have already commented on them at length in the footnotes, I shall simply list the following volumes of Unitarian history, biography and autobiography.

Frothingham, Octavius B. Boston Unitarianism, 1820-1850: A Study of the Life and Work of Nathaniel L. Frothingham. New York, 1890.

Frothingham, Octavius, B. Recollections and Impressions, 1822-1890. New York, 1891.

Gannett, William C. Ezra Stiles Gannett. Unitarian Minister in Boston, 1824-1871. Boston, 1875.

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Social Theory and the Sociology of Religion.

Perhaps the least obvious, but most important aspect of this dissertation is its theoretical orientation and concern. It grows out of current theoretical positions and conflicts in sociology, and develops material which has direct relevance to the work of Max Weber and recent scholars following in his large footsteps.

The best general introduction to theory is Doh Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory(Boston, 1960), which is a fine outline and condensation of what should have been two or three volumes. My problem was how to adapt current theory to the special limitations of historical material. Operationally, such an adaptation had to base itself on the documentary materials available.

Another problem seemed more important personally, however. At present the structural-functionalists and the varieties of social behaviorists are at war over the domain of group study. As I read works by both groups, it appeared to me that they both had worthwhile things to say, though I was unable to accept either school entirely. Unfortunately (and this is the reason that the argument continues), there is not enough empirical data to support either side, and since much of their theory is presented in a fashion that makes its empirical verification operationally impossible, it has seemed to me that wasting time getting deeply involved is unwise.

The positions that the two sides advocate, which seem to have truth, to me at least, and which I wished to preserve in my thesis, were these: (1) the concept of the social system - as a construct built from empirical observation - seemed useful and worthwhile, as did the concepts of adaptation, integration, etc. (2) On the other hand, human beings as culture bearers respond to their reality in terms of symbols which have no necessity to them, and which may change, thereupon initiating changes in behavior. Even many S-R psychologists have been forced to take this into account, and have developed mediation theory to do so. Thus I have tried to retain what I considered the useful aspects of structural-functionalism and symbolic interactionism without philosophically committing myself to either.

Taking into account my predilection for an eclectic approach, I have found the following works useful: A general approach to sociology which I have used at various times has been Arnold M. Rose, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations(New York, 1965). In beginning my work I was especially impressed by certain essays in Arnold M. Rose, Theory and Method in the Social Sciences(Minneapolis, 1954), especially "A Theory of Social Organization and Disorganization" the approach of which I implicitly assume in thinking about many of the problems which developed in the course of the urbanizing and industrializing process. The two essays on voluntary associations I have also found useful, especially in the light of the peculiar place the church has come to play in America as a voluntary association. Indeed its status as such is one of the most important facts of its history. I have also depended on role theory materials deriving from lecture notes in Dr. Rose's classes on social psychology. Other works which I have used include: J.O. Hertzler, American Social Institutions. A Sociological Analysis(Boston, 1961), George C.

Homans, *The Human Group*(New York, 1950), Don Martindale, *Social Life and Cultural Change*(Princeton, 1962), Wilbert E. Moore and Arnold S. Feldman, eds., *Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas*, which provides the key for interpreting much of the American urban past, W. Paul Strassman, *Risk and Technological Innovation: American Manufacturing Methods During the Nineteenth Century*(Ithaca, N.Y., 1956), Harold Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare: The Impact of Industrialization on the Supply and Organization of Social Welfare Services in the United States*(New York, 1958), especially the first three chapters, and Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power and Religion in A Rural Community*(Anchor Books, Garden City, N.J., 1960).

I have read widely in the works of the structural-functionalists, especially those which speak of religion. Increasingly I feel that what passes for profundity is just as often poor writing. However I obviously need to acknowledge my debt to Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*(Glencoe, 1951), especially the parts dealing with religious institutions. I also used Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, *Toward A General Theory of Action*(Cambridge, Mass., 1951) especially Part II. "Values, Motives, and Systems of Actions." I found the essay, "The Theoretical Development of the Sociology of Religion" useful in Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory*(Glencoe, 1949.

In recent years the sociology of religion has received a new impetus, marked, for instance, by the founding of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. Personally I feel that recent sociology of religion texts, while fine compilations, are much too dependent upon a kind of vague functionalism at about a level of depth equal to the table of contents. Among the fine studies I have used, sometimes rather differently than their authors intended are: Peter L. Berger, *The Noise of Solemn Assemblies: Christian Commitment and the Religious Establishment in America*(Garden City, N.J., 1961), which may also be suggestive to the historian. Some years ago I became familiar in their mimeographed form with two articles by Yoshio Fukuyama, "Functional Analysis of Religious Beliefs," and "The Major Dimensions of Church Membership." Howard Becker's essay, "Current Sacred Secular Theory and its Development," is suggestive, and may be found in Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, eds., *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change*(New York, 1957). Probably the best present text is David O. Moberg, *The Church as a Social Institution: The Sociology of American Religion*(Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1962), though its tends to proliferate functions like psychologists used to proliferate instincts, and with just about the same results. Another fine text is J. Milton Yinger, *Religion, Society and the Individual: An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion*(New York, 1957). Of course Robert Merton deals with the problems of functional theory and religion in *Social Theory and Social Structure:Toward the Codification of Theory and Research*(Glencoe, 1949), as does Allan W. Eister, "Religious Institutiona in Complex Societies: Difficulties in the Theoretic Specification of Functions," *American Sociological Review*, XXII, 4(August, 1957), pp. 387-391. My dissertation would tend to controvert Parsons's opinions, expressed in "Some Comments on the Pattern of Religious Organization in the United States," in his *Structure and Process in Modern Societies*(Glencoe, 1960).

While I do not entirely agree with him, Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*(Anchor Books, Garden City, N.J., 1960), is certainly stimulating reading for any student of American religion. I sometimes think people tend too often to forget the subtitle.

Finally, no bibliography dealing with the sociology of religion would be complete without these classics: Richard H. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*(Living Age Books, New York, 1957), Werner Sombart, *The Quintessence of Capitalism*(London, 1915), R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, A Historical Study* (Mentor, New York, 1950), Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*(New York, 1958), and Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*(Boston, 1963). Should I aspire to a label, it would be that, in spirit, at least, of "Weberian".

General Secondary Works.

Since I have already dealt with most of these at length in the footnotes, I will keep my annotations to a minimum.

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